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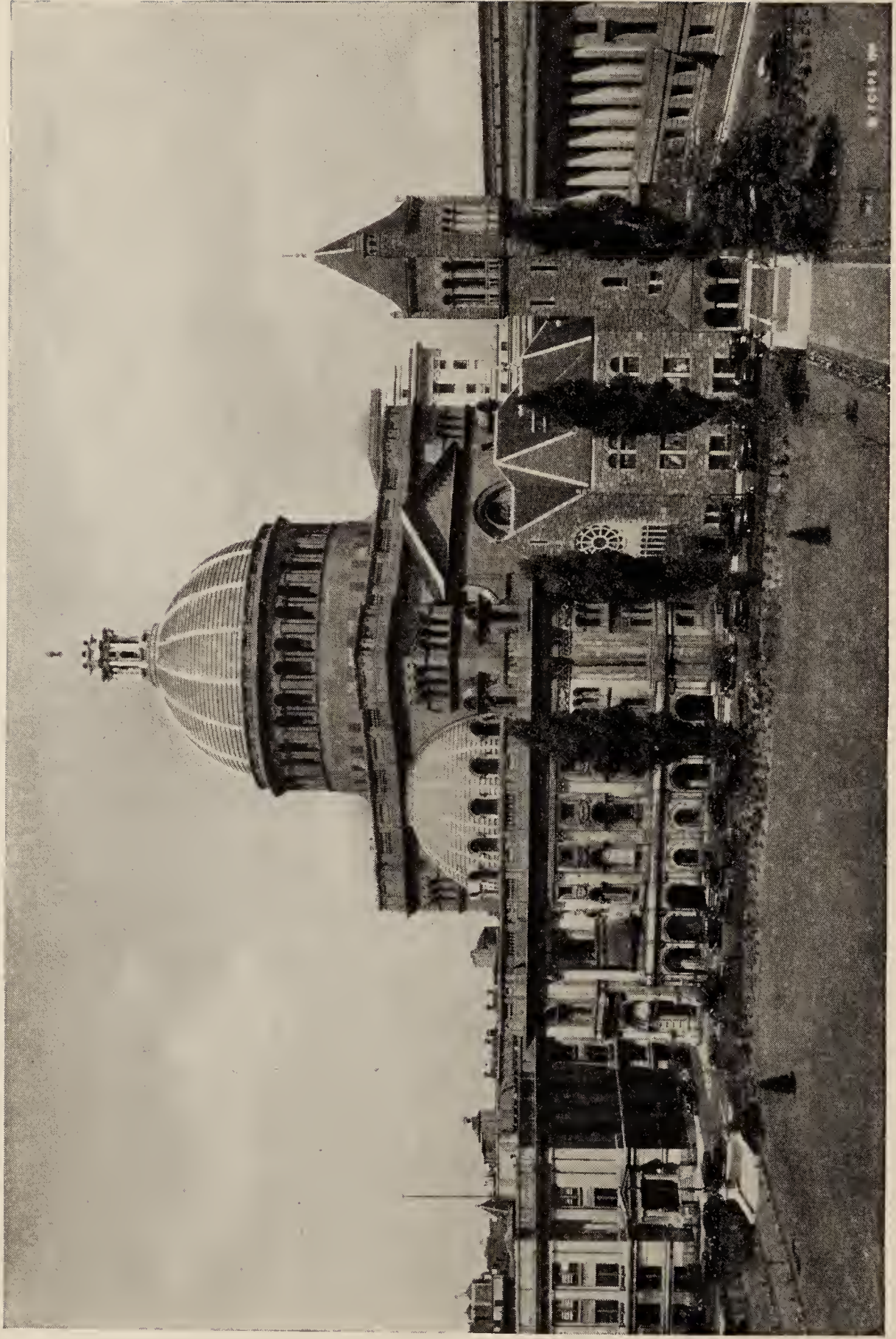
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THE STORY OF
MASSACHUSETTS



THE FIRST CHURCH OF CHRIST, SCIENTIST, BOSTON

THE STORY OF MASSACHUSETTS

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VOLUME II



THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL SOCIETY, INC.
NEW YORK

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1938

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Abolitionists in Massachusetts

Just as was the case in the Revolutionary War, Massachusetts although not alone, did play the leading role in originating and developing the cause of the abolitionist. That this most remarkable movement did not, in itself, result in the ending of slavery in the United States was not the fault of the Abolitionists. Slavery had in itself the seeds of its own destruction, seeds both social and economic, and these causes became effective during the fifties of the nineteenth century despite rather than primarily because of the efforts of the abolitionists. Had not this come about, it is reasonably correct to assume that eventually, abolition would have caused slavery to be at least checked in its necessary spread into new lands and thus brought about its lingering death as an institution.

Abolitionism began in Massachusetts about 1830 and flourished for more than two decades as a tremendous force. During much of this period, it was distinguished as the cause of perhaps the most bitter controversy the commonwealth has experienced since Revolutionary times. An issue of the *Liberator*, the great abolitionist organ, thus describes the treatment apostles of abolitionism received in Massachusetts: "Utterly deprived of that protection and of those immunities which belong to them as citizens, and given up to be the prey of ruffians and assassins, the popular theory of self-defense and the example of wordly patriotism in all ages authorize them to resist unto blood—to proclaim a war of extermination—to light up the fires of a new revolution—and to rally together upon the 'tented fields,' armed and equipped for mortal combat. . . . The causes which induced our revolutionary fathers to rush to the strife of blood were as dust in the balance, compared with the anguish, outrage and peril to which Abolitionists are subjected. . . ."

At first glance, it is difficult to understand why the abolition movement should have been so bitterly fought in Massachusetts. This commonwealth, of all states, distinguished itself in the period from Revolutionary times, and even before, up to the outbreak of abolitionism

by its anti-slavery position. In colonial and provincial days, there were slaves, of course, but as black labor was neither profitable nor desirable in the small and stony fields of New England, all blacks who were held here were house servants and enjoyed, as a matter of fact, a happier and more comfortable life than did the majority of freemen who had to work if they wanted to eat. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Indian slaves had practically died out and black slaves were of no numerical importance whatever.

Politically, as well as economically, the commonwealth did not promote slavery either and there exists a large body of colonial legal decisions and enactments which, if they did not actually outlaw slavery, did tacitly discourage it. This tendency of the State culminated in 1780 when the constitution of that year declared, "All men are born free and equal, and have certain natural, essential and inalienable rights." This principle was generally understood to prohibit any form of bondage, except as punishment for misbehavior, and practically brought to an end that contractual form of slavery, the indentured servant, which had flourished in the colonies for one hundred and fifty years and played such an important part in building up the settlement of the sea-board.

By 1830, when abolitionism broke out, slavery was virtually extinct in Massachusetts. Probably, there were numbers of slaves still living who had been "freed" by the Constitution of 1780 and they must have had a number of offsprings, but they lived as citizens in the commonwealth in a condition not appreciably different from that of white folks. They could vote under the same legal restrictions as determined white voters and held property and engaged in business without hindrance. Probably, as a group, they lived upon happy terms with their white neighbors, being scattered about rather than grouped in slums or in quarters by themselves.

Outside of its borders, the anti-slavery influence of the state was even more marked. The territory of Ohio, which included an important settlement of Massachusetts origin, was the first area closed to slavery by Congress, and, similarly, Massachusetts influenced the settlement of Illinois and Indiana—not to mention the later and bloody Kansas business. In Washington, Massachusetts' representatives were opposed to the development of the United States in the southwest, largely because of free-soil persuasion, and Massachusetts opposed the Missouri Compromise for the same reason.

Oddly enough, it was a son of Massachusetts, Eli Whitney, who changed the whole picture. His invention of the cotton gin not only revitalized the unquestionably dying institution of slavery in the South

itself, but also caused a divergence of opinion in the North, even in Massachusetts. Previously, slavery meant but little to the North but, when cotton became a staple crop, slavery came to mean a great deal, not only to the southern planters but to northern businessmen who operated mills which needed cotton to feed the hungry factories, but to northern merchants and traders who not only transported cotton from the southern fields to the northern factories and then transported the finished product from the North to the whole world but also built up a profitable business in other products and goods in markets made possible by the money put into circulation by growing cotton, spinning cloth and selling it. The cotton gin thus set up a profitable circle of influence. To put it bluntly, cotton meant slaves, and when cotton lined the bank accounts of the North so did slavery.

Thus, when abolitionism lifted its head, it aroused not only the vigorous opposition which was to be anticipated from the slave states but also an unexpected but scarcely less bitter hatred among the merchants and mill owners of the North—which meant, when all the social ramifications are taken into consideration, most of the wealth and position of the North.

Thus, in Massachusetts, abolitionism at first found many powerful foes and very few influential friends. With the exception of John Quincy Adams, no Washington representative of the Commonwealth before 1850 ever became interested in the freedom of the slave; in fact, there was a strong political group, known as the "Cotton Whigs," led by mill owners and merchants, wanting to keep upon satisfactory business terms with southern customers, who tirelessly threw their money and influence against any expression of sympathy from Massachusetts with the slave.

To the reasonable mind, let alone minds colored by financial considerations, abolitionism was not a pleasant business. It openly attacked concord with the South, tacitly sought secession of the North from the South and caused continual political unrest. Even if slavery was an evil institution, to the cold mind, it was a thing of less negative value than the positive worth of interstate commerce and friendship. Slavery was a regrettable business, surely, it was said by these folks, but, even so, the blacks were better off in America than they were in the African jungles. And, of course, slaves were private property. They might be human beings but they were, nevertheless, property and, particularly for the businessman and the industrialist, private property was and is sacred. The movement to free the slave was an attack upon private property; it was radical, it was even criminal, from this point of view. Liberty and brotherhood and self-government were

American principles; the Revolution, the War of 1812 and the whole history of America demonstrated that. But, these ideals were for white folks; a black skin made a difference. If you were unfortunate enough to be black, to have your flesh pigmented with color, then you were outside the pale—you were property.

Thus, because of the sacredness of private property, because of the effect upon business, because of the breeding of inter-state animosity, because of the disturbance of the public peace, and because of the nuisance being created, Massachusetts itself shortly hated abolitionism almost as strongly as did the South. Fuel was added to the flames because of the very nature of the party. Its members were not aliens, not vagrants—like the colonial Quakers—they could not be abused, threatened or even imprisoned and executed legally. They were Americans of good, old stock, they were sons of fathers who had fought for freedom of person and speech and, with inbred militant spirit, they could not be hushed up by argument of threats, silenced by violence or brow-beat into defeat. They were willing to be martyrs and their position was such that the more they were fought, the more vigorous they became and the greater their influence and numbers became. It was downright exasperating!

While it is impossible to determine just who, if any one person, was responsible for the organization of the spirit of abolitionism, the leading character was a citizen of Newburyport—William Lloyd Garrison, son of an old sea-captain, a boy who left school at a time when most modern youths are still in the grades, became a printer's devil on the staff of the Newburyport *Herald* and by virtue of ambition and the magic of printers' ink, shortly became editor of the newspaper. Those were the glorious days of American journalism. There were no ethics to restrain ambition or news-gathering and no solid phalanx of advertisers quietly to dictate policy to owners. News was news, newspapers existed to publish news rather than advertising and the editor with a paper bag of capital could make himself and his paper a force in any community through the practice of a journalism that was free economically as well as legally.

Why this Newburyport journalist, happy in his success and his friendships, which included the poet, John Greenleaf Whittier, should have felt himself compelled to abandon his home and position for the sake of the ideal of freeing the slaves of the United States is a mystery, one of those things about humans which makes history perennially interesting, instructive and inspiring.

A deaf Quaker, one Benjamin Lundy, was the spark which fired Garrison's enthusiasm. This man, one of the noblest humans biog-

raphers have neglected, had dedicated his life to the slaves. Leaving his home, he went about the Union, propagandizing for the cause of the blacks. Supporting himself by soliciting subscribers to a little paper which he published occasionally, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, his chief business was to hold public meetings at which he, a very poor orator, attempted to persuade the local folk to form anti-slavery societies and to work for the freedom of the oppressed. It is recorded that, in two years about 1830, this gentle Quaker walked twenty five hundred miles from Vermont to Mississippi, "defying alike the hostilities of man and nature."

In Africa or Asia, Lundy would have been a holy man, respected and entertained. In America he was merely suffered where he was not abused but, in March, 1828, his work was rewarded. He met Garrison, touched off the spark of another idealist's enthusiasm and started the organization of the Abolitionist Party.

Immediately, Garrison went with Lundy to Baltimore, where the editor undertook to publish the *Genius of Universal Emancipation* seriously. The first number appeared September 2, 1829. Successful as Garrison had been with ordinary journalism, he made a sorry business of editing the *Genius*. Lundy's subscription list had been accustomed to the soft-voiced pleading and gentle persuasion of the Quaker; Garrison breathed fire and brimstone. He plumped for the immediate and unconditional emancipation of the blacks and he uncompromisingly attacked certain individuals. This was bad business, then as now, and the *Genius* promptly lost its subscribers and the paper came to its end the first of March 1830. Possibly the sheet might have continued its struggles had not Garrison run afoul of the law of libel. In an issue of the *Genius*, Garrison denounced two of his Newburyport fellow citizens, Nicholas Browne and Francis Todd, for slave-trading. He alleged that the two men carried a number of blacks from Maryland to New Orleans. This might have been the fact, but Garrison added that the two men were highway robbers and murderers and declared that they should be sentenced to life imprisonment. Browne and Todd brought action in the Baltimore courts for libel and Garrison was sentenced to pay fifty dollars and costs. Being without funds, Garrison was unable to pay the bill and, accordingly, was hauled off to jail. There he spent two months, being finally released by the efforts of a New York merchant, Arthur Tappen, who paid the fine and, thereafter, became Garrison's angel.

His misfortune with the *Genius*, and his opportunity for reflection in jail, did not cool Garrison's ardor in the least. He, like all idealists, thrived upon failure and, hence after first deliberating over re-publish-

ing the *Genius*, Garrison determined to start a weekly sheet of his own. In those days, when press agents were not for hire, the only way in which an enthusiast could propagandize the people was to start a paper for the purpose. Labor, ink and paper were cheap and the business was far from being the expensive and difficult undertaking that it is today.

In Boston, Garrison found a few supporters and the little capital needed, as well as a staunch friend and fellow-worker, Isaac Knapp. On New Year's Day, 1831, the *Liberator* was born without a single subscriber to send it to and without any certain prospect of support. Its history is a remarkable one; although even in its palmyest days its subscription list never went much beyond the four thousand mark and although it never actually made a profit, it was one of the most influential and powerful papers ever published.

And seldom, if ever, did two publishers endure such personal privation as well as opposition. Garrison set the type himself, made up his forms and helped run the press by foot-power. He, of course, wrote the copy and it is recorded that he often dispensed with paper and ink but thought out his articles and editorials at times as he stood stick in hand, making up his phrases and sentences as his fingers picked up the type and assembled it in his stick. For months, Garrison and Knapp slept on the floor of their office, using a bundle of paper for a pillow and sheets of the *Liberator* for blankets. Often they were hungry and "dieted" and, whenever a few subscriptions did come in, they feasted upon cakes obtained from a bakery shop as a supplement to their ordinary menu of bread and milk. Theirs was "plain living and high thinking" in sober fact.

The character and determination of Garrison and Knapp did much to interest supporters. Theirs was a living expression of the conviction of their opinions and everyone honored them when they could not agree with them. James Russell Lowell expressed his awakening interest in a poem to Garrison, a poem which reads in part:

"In a small chamber, friendless and unseen,
Toiled o'er his types one poor, unlearned young man;
The place was dark, unfurnished and mean;
Yet there the freedom of a race began."

At the masthead of the *Liberator*, Garrison expressed his purpose in Charles Fox's line, "On this subject, I do not wish to think, or speak, or write with moderation." To this line, Garrison added: "I am in earnest. I will not equivocate. I will not excuse. I will not retreat a single inch. I will be heard!"

With strong and vigorous language, a style often criticized as unnecessarily coarse and enemy-making rather than friend-persuading, Garrison lived boldly up to his stated principles. He was heard! Indignant protests followed upon the heels of every issue of the paper. Official protests were received from the governors of Virginia and of Georgia, which were turned over to Harrison Gray Otis, mayor of Boston, for reply. Otis wrote back minimizing the business, declaring that the *Liberator* was merely a new sort of fanaticism, that its editor was a young man without friends or supporters, that his office was an obscure place and that the whole business was likely to fade into an early and inconspicuous death.

Interestingly enough, the correspondence of the mayor with the two governors gave the *Liberator* a national reputation and influence long before most citizens of Boston knew that such a paper existed. And further invaluable publicity came when the Southern States began to fulminate in earnest. When Georgia offered a reward of \$5000 for the arrest and conviction of Garrison, and offered the same sum for the arrest and conviction of anyone daring to circulate the *Liberator* in the state, naturally, Bostonians began to buy the paper to find out what all the fuss was about. And again, when North Carolina preferred charges of felony against Garrison and Knapp for sending the *Liberator* in that state, more readers were added to the paper's circulation.

There is no contention that Garrison originated the proposal of immediate abolition of slavery and the unconditional emancipation of the slaves; that was advanced as early as twenty years previously by several thinkers. But Garrison did something more important; he publicized the idea, organized its supporters and made the principle active.

The real business of abolitionism began in Boston on January 6, 1832, when, with a dozen associates, Garrison formed the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Societies for the relief of the negro had been formed earlier; there was the Colonization Society which, for example, talked about helping the blacks by purchasing them from slave owners and transporting the slaves to Africa where they could be "free."

The New England Anti-Slavery Society, under Garrison's leadership, was not any such "kid-glove affair." It advocated "universal and immediate abolition of slavery" and advocated it with words which, flaming with indignation, attacked violently both persons and institutions. In fact, so vigorous were Garrison and the members of his Society, that, time and time again, friends and sympathizers were alienated and estranged, and on several occasions, members of the New

England Anti-Slavery Society seceded and formed new societies, which, although not in opposition, attempted to further the cause of abolition more temperately. For example, in 1835, seceders from Garrison's group, formed the American Union for the Relief and Improvement of the Colored Race which, fortunately, did not long endure.

One of the chief difficulties which Garrison, and his society, experienced, was self-made. From the very beginning, Garrison attacked not only slavery but added alarms and excursions in other idealistic causes, such as temperance and universal peace. But, chief of these side-issues was the support of the campaign for the emancipation of women—that is women's rights. This position of Garrison, and his Society, made it necessary to admit women to membership and leadership in the affairs of the Society, and thus the Society, and the whole cause of abolitionism, for that matter, was laid open to almost universal attack, not because of abolition alone but because of the "immorality" of allowing women to leave the home and usurp the business of men. Even such a gentle idealist as Whittier, who was an ardent abolitionist, was disturbed because Garrison permitted women to take an active part in the affairs of the Society. Churchman and layman alike poured scathing criticism upon the Society for this reason and the cause lost many friends and, more important, financial supporters.

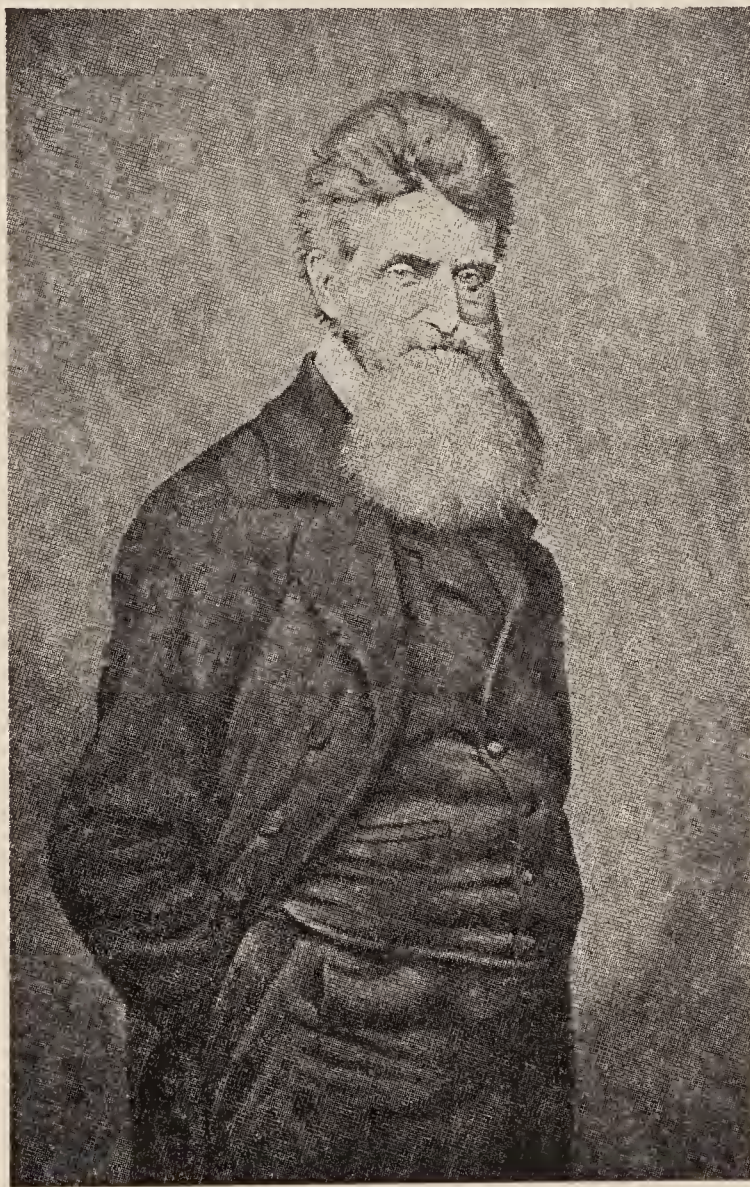
But, despite the fiery vehemence of Garrison (perhaps because of it) for every foot of progress the Society lost, it gained a dozen and the abolitionist movement, once officially launched sailed merrily on. A National anti-slavery society was founded in Philadelphia in 1833 and the same year, Garrison established relations with Clarkson and Wilberforce, British abolitionists, who thereafter liberally supported the cause in America. Incidentally, it is not too much to assume that, in at least a small measure, the mutual good-will bred between American and British abolitionists played a part in preventing a rupture between the United States and Great Britain during the Civil War period of misunderstanding and difficulty.

Using the Massachusetts (New England) Society as a nucleus, Garrison and the converts he soon began to attract, started out to evangelize the northern section of the country. After Pennsylvania, Vermont followed, as did Maine and the Territory of Ohio, with such success that by 1838, at least two hundred abolitionist societies had been formed and the jubilant workers at last began to feel that "the conscience of the nation was beginning to awaken."

In direct proportion to its progress, abolitionism awakened opposition as well. Forcible discouragement and mob violence began to

“lift its serpent head.” The abolitionists were considered fanatics and even in Boston, in Faneuil Hall itself, a pro-slavery meeting was held in 1835 at which the abolitionists were roundly denounced by speakers who “deplored” the fact that the Commonwealth was without laws which could be used to silence the “trouble-makers.”

Early in 1835, violence began to be evoked even in Massachusetts. Mobs had long persecuted abolitionists in the South and several lynching bees had taken place. Soon violence became the expected thing at all abolitionist meetings. Lynn mobbed George Thompson, a brilliant English orator who came to aid Garrison in advancing abolition in America. Even the poet Whittier was stoned when he ventured to lift his voice at a meeting in gentle Concord, home of Emerson, Thoreau, Alcott, Hawthorne and the rest of the Concord School. In September a gallows was erected, as a threat, in front of the office of the



JOHN BROWN

Liberator and Garrison, Thompson and other leaders were in daily danger of violence. The first outbreak of violence occurred in Boston on the night of October 21, 1835. Garrison and Thompson were scheduled to address a meeting of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society. Posters about town offered a cash reward to anyone who would use violence to prevent Thompson, “the vagabond, the wandering insurrectionist” from speaking, and others urged citizens to break up the meeting.

As the hour approached, a mob assembled outside the hall, a mob which numbered so many "gentlemen of property and influence" that it has been known ever since as the "broadcloth mob." This mob was in such an ugly temper that the meeting was clearly out of the question. Thompson did not appear; Garrison did, but he was persuaded to leave quietly and to take refuge in the nearby office of the *Liberator*. Seeking to prevent violence, Theodore Lyman, Mayor of the City of Boston, came and ordered the mob to disperse. Upon their failure to obey, Mayor Lyman ordered the women in attendance to leave the hall. This they did. In a procession headed by Maria Weston Chapman, the women, "as cool as pigs on ice," marched away in a body through a howling, abusive throng, a mob in which some of the ladies had the pleasure of recognizing many of their friends.

The mob still remaining, Lyman tore down the propaganda signs of the Society from the walls of the hall and tossed them to the mob. Instead of satisfying the crowd, this served further to whet their appetite and they set out to lynch Garrison. He was caught by the mob as he sought to escape from the *Liberator* office back door. A rope was produced (showing evidence of premeditated violence) and he might have been strung up if, to Boston's good name, a handful of sane men had not seized him and taken him off to City Hall for safekeeping. This action put the whole business squarely up to Mayor Lyman. He solved the situation by jailing Garrison for disturbing the peace and inciting a riot. The jailors, on the trip from the City Hall to Suffolk County Jail, nearly lost their prisoner to the mob, but they won through to the safety of the jail's granite walls. There, as soon as it was safe, Garrison was released, and he left Boston for a month or so at the request of the City fathers so that feeling might have an opportunity to cool down.

As is commonly the case whenever violence is offered to an idealistic cause, this outbreak greatly advanced the cause of Garrison in Massachusetts. Not only did the publicity bring the *Liberator* an increase in sales, but many new converts were attracted to the cause, among them several prominent and influential men; men such as Henry Bowditch, Charles Sumner, Ex-president John Quincy Adams, and, of all significant figures, Wendell Phillips.

Adams was important because, as a representative in Washington, he carried the views of the abolitionists to the heart of the nation. For twenty years, he was the target at which was directed all the fears, abuse and bitterness of the dominant southern majority. Time and time again he was insulted, "gagged" from speaking, and abused. But, although he himself was not in favor of emancipation as an

immediate need, and although he deprecated the violent attitude of the abolitionists, he worked for and with the cause and, if he did nothing more, clearly demonstrated that, with political conditions as they were at the time, any hope of anti-slavery legislation in Washington was utterly beyond even the fondest expectations.

In Phillips, although he did not at once throw himself into the cause, abolitionism found its greatest voice. He was the supreme orator, a speaker such as modern public life does not boast. He was a successful attorney; he held an enviable social position; he was wealthy and, to match his political ambitions, unquestionably a brilliant future awaited him. Yet, for the sake of an ideal, awakened when he was an eye-witness of the "broadcloth mob," he tossed his prospects into the discard and threw himself without reserve to the lions.

As time went on, yet other influential men joined the cause. Edmund Quincy joined the flock, along with hosts of others, when the nation was shocked by the murder at Alton, Illinois, of Elijah Lovejoy. Ellis Loring joined with Francis Jackson, the latter being a prominent lawyer whose adherence to the cause cost him not only valuable clients but also friends and acquaintances. His chief service seems to have been the financial backing of the *Liberator*. That fiery weekly was constantly in monetary difficulties and time and time again Lawyer Jackson dug down in his pockets to keep the presses rolling. David Child and Lydia Child were other prominent disciples but, all in all, abolitionism remained an unpopular cause and its followers were never in danger of having their enthusiasm dulled by the accession of ease.

From the very first, abolitionism won the support of the writers of Massachusetts, who, at the time, it may be pointed out, were the leading literary men of the nation. Emerson, to begin with, was cool to abolitionism, as he seems to have been to most social enthusiasms of contemporary causes, but before long he was a fervent supporter of the cause and suffered storm and stress—as when he was hissed in Cambridge in 1851 at a meeting in protest against the Fugitive Slave law. Whittier, also from the very beginning was a most fervent abolitionist, although he blew hot and cold at all times in abhorrence of Garrison's extreme language and methods. James Russell Lowell was a consistent laborer in the vineyard; he wrote many anti-slavery articles and also wrote a few poems which, incidentally, both in literary and social scales, were far more valuable than his tepid prose.

Of the later day apostles, Charles Francis Adams, Rev. John Palfrey (both as Massachusetts' Secretary of State and as congressman) and Senator Charles Sumner, were the more effective; Sumner par-

ticularly, was the political genius of the cause. William Ellery Channing was an influential addition to the party, although he was too cautious and reasonable to please the extreme members of the abolitionists. Theodore Parker, to select a final example of the leaders, more than satisfied every member; a lofty figure in the pulpit, his voice carried far and convinced many "of the hesitant and doubting."

With such supporters, abolitionism began to have at least a tinge of respectability and the movement leaped ahead. For instance, from two hundred or so societies in 1838, by 1840 the northern states counted more than two thousand societies and funds were sufficient not only to publish and circulate abolitionist literature but also to employ abolitionist missionaries.

Abolitionist finance is of compelling interest for several reasons. Few societies which long endure, are free from criticism of their financial accounts; abolitionism was. And few causes can accomplish so much with so very little as abolitionism did. In 1835, not much more than two thousand dollars was raised and spent. At its high water mark, financially, in 1840, only a little more than ten thousand dollars was spent and by 1850, the total passing through the treasury in the year was but six thousand dollars. The principal sources of income were two: first, fairs operated by the women; second, gifts and donations not only from American families but from Great Britain and several nations in Europe. Probably the reason that so much was accomplished with so little was that the members displayed a spirit of sacrifice and devotion which is truly remarkable. Most of the orators and workers were unpaid, and employed speakers and distributors of literature received very small wages, frequently not enough to pay their expenses. Public meetings are now and were then cheaper forms of propaganda than literature and this fact was important then, for the country was lyceum conscious. There were few books and sources of entertainment available in those days; lecturers were the people's radio, theatre and magazines, and almost any speaker could be sure of an audience no matter what his theme of discourse happened to be—even abolitionists had a hearing.

The great growth in public support of abolitionism between 1835 and 1840 received a serious check at that time by reason of objection to Garrison's violence. Not only did the great leader continue the admixture of causes extraneous to abolitionism, but he persisted in attacking even anti-slavery leaders who did not see things precisely the way he did. As is to be expected, the men he abused reciprocated his attacks and more than once the ranks of the cause were split wide open to the cause's harm. In 1839, at the annual gathering of the

Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Party, an earnest attempt was made to elect another leader in the place of Garrison and to start another organ in the place of the *Liberator*. Garrison was sustained in his place by a large vote of confidence but the malcontents seceded, and founded their paper, *The Massachusetts Abolitionist*, and soon a new society, The Massachusetts Abolition Society, was formed.

As if this was not trouble enough within the ranks, Garrison quarreled with the national abolitionist society and, at its convention in 1839, Garrison was outvoted and ousted. In 1840, he and his supporters made a determined effort to regain their place and, by bringing nearly five hundred delegates with them, packed the meeting successfully. Again the opposition withdrew and formed a new society, The American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and established their own organ, the *Anti Slavery Reporter*. The new society and its paper were short lived but the defection marked the high-water mark of abolitionism. The funds of the national society dropped at once more than sixty percent and failed to recover appreciably, while the membership of the national society, both in members and subordinate associations, failed in proportion. Garrison held his place as leader but only over a shattered group.

The decade of 1840-1850 witnessed also bitter disappointment nationally for the abolitionists. With the annexation of Texas, the Mexican War was entailed, as was the subsequent admission of the new slave territory represented by the future states of New Mexico, Arizona and California. Massachusetts officially worked against both the admission of Texas and the prosecution of the Mexican War, and abolitionists everywhere followed suit. The call of Governor Briggs of Massachusetts for support of the Mexican War was regarded by the abolitionists as treasonable in that he officially put the Commonwealth in the position of supporting slavery.

Nevertheless, abolitionists bore their political reversals with equanimity and every expression of confidence in their eventual success. Texas they regarded as hopeless to begin with and they found comfort in the fact that the Mexican War brought new recruits to the ranks of the cause and they seized upon the opportunity the events afforded to propagandize their views as never before.

More and more the more extreme members of the party became convinced that their cause was hopeless politically and this not only gave such of their leaders, as Sumner, who hoped eventually to accomplish abolition by political means, great discomposure, but soon, the cause came to express open sentiments for secession, for a breaking up of the Union. In 1844, the American Anti-Slavery Society

actually voted for the dissolution of the Union and the annulment of the Constitution, and the New England group the same year voted "No Union with Slave States." Garrison wrote feverishly: calling the Constitution "A covenant with death and an agreement with hell." Wendell Phillips said, "Love it as we may, and cherish it as we do, equally with the loudest of our opponents, we say: Perish the Union—when its cement must be the blood of the slave." However, for all their noise and fever, abolitionists were numerically inferior and nothing came of their fulminations, for voters in the North were not greatly concerned, and the representatives they sent to Washington were thus not the men to make any headway against the firmly united and determined South.

Soon after 1845, it became evident that abolitionism was being drawn into a larger and more serious struggle. The battle was being joined on national grounds; the battlefield was less and less in New England; the issue was not so much the freedom of the blacks as a struggle for American principles, the right of free speech, the right of free press, and the right of the North against that of the South. For years, the gag rule of the House of Representatives, No. 25, had been called upon to silence Adams and others when they wished to speak against slavery. Adams himself, in 1848, characteristically declared that the Constitution was but a shadow and that the whole business of Washington was the "preservation, propagation and perpetuation of slavery."

But there remained plenty for the abolitionists of the commonwealth to do in Massachusetts. Since colonial times, there had been a law prohibiting miscegenation; this the abolitionists caused to be repealed in 1844. Jim Crow carriages on the railroads still existed but the abolitionists, about the same time, ended them by merely issuing threats of legal and legislative reprisal against the railroads concerned. The color discrimination existing in the schools, the abolitionists of the Commonwealth eagerly attacked as a vestige of prejudice, although they were not successful until later on. And, constantly, the cause sought to have the state speak officially against what were considered unjust persecutions of the blacks in the southern states. Those states paid no attention to Massachusetts' protests but, even at the cost of breeding further inter-state ill feeling, the abolitionists considered they were advancing the cause of freedom.

The Fugitive Slave law gave the cause a burning opportunity and, while, of course, the commonwealth could not nullify a federal enactment, the state could and did refuse aid in its enforcement. Precisely as in prohibition days when some states refused to enforce the law,

Massachusetts, at the behest of the abolitionists, forbade any state officer to arrest any alleged fugitive slave and thus made it necessary for federal agents to conduct the complete enforcement of the hated law.

At the year 1850, after a double decade of agitation, abolitionism thus found its work far advanced. From Boston, the cause had advanced to a national platform, and although but eleven years more were needed before blood was to free the slave, no one yet realized that the conflict was inevitable. To say that the Union could not endure half slave and half free was beyond the horizon of statesmen. All that remained for the abolitionists of Massachusetts to do, they believed, was to continue their agitation, to lose no opportunity of propagandizing, to seize upon every loop-hole the excesses and boldness of the South afforded—and thus assure a final victory. They knew their cause was just; they knew that slavery must itself fail just as soon as new land ceased to be available for exploitation and so they were content to labor and abide the issue.

However abolitionists had not long to wait, although curiously enough, they were apparently as blind to approaching war clouds as everyone else and, even up to the first gun-fire, doubted that arms would finally resolve the issues. Phillips, for example, speaking on the very night that news was received of the fall of Fort Sumter, claimed that the battle was merely a trick of the Lincoln administration to browbeat the North into compliance with southern demands.

Beginning with 1850, the coming political upheaval showed itself in Massachusetts by a determined effort on the part of the two minority parties, the Democrats and the Free-Soilers to unite and oust from power the Whig machine. Webster's share in the Compromise of 1850, divided the Whigs amongst themselves and the Fugitive Slave law, although hastily repudiated by the Whigs under Webster's successor in the Senate, Robert Winthrop, still further mired the Whigs—the Commonwealth's conservative and aristocratic party.

It is difficult to imagine the spirit with which the abolitionist-hatched hatred of the Fugitive Slave law was regarded by many folks in the commonwealth. When fugitive slave agents appeared in Boston, seeking a negro man and wife, who, having escaped from slavery in the South were then living in Boston as prominent (because of their romantic interest) members of Parker's church, the issue was sharply brought home to Boston. A sub-rosa committee was formed to aid the negro pair and to discourage the slave catchers, but their work was only too evidently illegal. Could Massachusetts refuse to aid escaped slaves? Could the Commonwealth refuse to obey and honor

a Federal Law? The Free-Soilers said the State should and at a Faneuil Hall meeting passed resolutions promising the colored folk of Boston protection from the law.

The Whigs, naturally, took the other view. Whatever the cost to humanitarian principles, they declared, the Union was of more importance and must be preserved. With two such opposing views the November election was very hot and, although the Whig party won 57,000 votes out of the 120,000 cast, in effect the Democrats and Free-Soilers were triumphant for they won control of both the House and the Senate. Using the whip thus placed in their hands, they put a Democrat, George S. Boutwell, in office as Governor and another Democrat, Robert Rantoul, in as the junior Senator. The Free-soilers agreed to this for the sake of placing their leader, Charles Sumner, as senior senator, but the agreement was voided when Caleb Cushing was advanced as another candidate. The controversy became bitter and the fight endured for three months, ending finally in Sumner's victory.

The outcome was determined to a degree by two famous fugitive slave cases. Having frightened off the agents who had sought Parker's protégés, Boston thought its troubles were ended but, in February, 1851, a slave catcher surprised the city by suddenly arresting a former slave, one Shadrach. The case was brought before the United States Commissioner, George T. Curtis. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., abolitionist lawyer, rushed to the defense and vainly attempted to obtain the man's release by legal means. The negroes of Boston themselves, however, settled the case by managing to seize Shadrach from the law and to smuggle him to freedom.

The negro violence was of course illegal and opinion was inflamed. Further fuel was added to the flames when the second fugitive slave, Thomas Sims, was arrested while at work in a Boston hotel. He was strongly guarded by officers of the law and no attempt at rescue could be made. Dana again exhausted every device of the law but, after eight days of struggle in both Massachusetts and Federal Courts, Boston saw Sims marched away back to slavery with a guard of armed men, City of Boston police, no less!

The Whig power was still further shaken by these two cases and, despite their desperate efforts to regain control at the next State election, the united Democrats and Free Soilers remained in the saddle. But major historical tendencies were against the odd union and the death of Webster, the presidential election and the dying away of the Fugitive Slave law heat once more restored the Whigs to power. When the presidential-year ballots were counted, the Whigs found that they had

the balance of power in the General Court once more, and so the state was theirs.

The constitutional convention of 1853 was the major activity of the united Democrats and Free-Soilers. They had called the assembly to modernize the state's constitution, seeking particularly to destroy the Whig control of Boston and Harvard University, to establish a plurality law in place of the ancient majority law in elections and to bring the judiciary closer to the electorate. The convention was composed of dignified and earnest men and much of their work was of the highest calibre, but the Whigs were adroit politicians and, although some of the proposals contained in the new constitution were shortly adopted, the new constitution itself was refused by the people.

This was a crushing defeat for the Democrats and Free-Soilers; but hardly had the Whigs begun to enjoy their return to power then the Kansas-Nebraska agitation came along. Repudiating the Missouri Compromise, Massachusetts saw the bill of 1854 as a bold essay of the South to make the nation entirely slave.

Massachusetts was at first "flabbergasted," but soon the entire State united in protest and indignation. "Whiggery," as were all other parties, was disrupted. Nothing else could have restored abolitionism from its torpidity so successfully. Once again, feeling in the state was intensified by another fugitive slave case. On May 24, 1854, Antony Burns, was arrested by slave catchers and haled before the federal commissioner. Boston became greatly excited. A mass meeting at Faneuil Hall was followed by a mob action in which, although unsuccessful in freeing Burns, a guard was killed. This caused the United States Marines to be called out to protect the majesty of the law. Dana again exhausted the law in an essay to free Burns legally but the case was hopeless and, guarded by an army—twelve hundred marines, twenty companies of militia and the entire police department of Boston,—the negro was marched back to slavery while Boston stood by impotent. The case cost probably fifty thousand dollars; Burns might have been worth a thousand. But the constitution was upheld!

When the Kansas-Nebraska Bill was signed, it became evident that the battle was transferred from the Senate to the black soil of the west. If enough northerners went there to settle, the state could still be kept free, and so Boston began the New England Emigrant Aid Company. Amos A. Lawrence partly financed the work and the town of Lawrence was soon established and settlers attracted not only from New England but also from states of the upper Ohio Valley.

This saving of Kansas was something of a focus about which political interests rallied in Massachusetts. The Whigs were discredited

and the Democrats and Free Soilers were not particularly attractive to everyone. For a time the American or "Know-Nothing" Party filled the gap. In 1854 they triumphed at the state election, although in reality the party in this state was merely Free-Soilers in a new suit of clothes. One of the leaders was Henry Wilson who, first a Free-Soiler and impotent, as a Know-Nothing became a senator and, helping to found the Republican party, had a long and honorable career in Washington.

The Know-Nothings amused themselves with mostly wordy attacks upon the Irish and Catholic citizens of the State, folks whom the party chose to regard with misgiving; but the party did further the cause of abolitionism by doing all that could be done to deny the fugitive slave law and to foment national disturbance.

From this period on, events in Massachusetts were completely submerged in the darkening shadows gathering over Washington. State issues were confused and unimportant beside the National crisis and personalities played a larger part in the state than did either political doctrine or statecraft. The new Republican party made great gains in all the North and in the election of 1858 swept up a majority in the lower federal house. However, before the new congress met, John Brown had made his raid, had been captured and hanged, and the North had been aroused.

Whatever the results of John Brown were nationally, they were important within the Commonwealth in that a great man, John A. Andrew, rose to fame thereby. In a meeting called to raise funds for the Brown family, at which Andrew was presiding, he electrified the meeting and subsequently the state, by declaring that it was not pertinent to consider whether or not John Brown's raid was right or wrong; the important thing was "John Brown himself was right." Five words, yet they elevated a Boston attorney to the governor's chair and gave Massachusetts a great war governor to direct its fortunes during the perilous years ahead.

CHAPTER XXXIV

Immigration to the Civil War Period

Of the approximately ten million persons resident in New England at the present time, a great number are designated by the United States census enumerators as "foreign white." This is particularly true of Massachusetts' mill cities. The "native white," that is, families who have lived in the Commonwealth for generations, are, probably, very largely suburban or even rural folk. Really, there are sections of Massachusetts cities where English is seldom heard and residents, far from being American citizens, know nothing more of American law and ideals than happen to be exemplified by the blue coated policemen—who patrol the streets in pairs for safety's sake. Without splitting hairs over the new nationalities created by the late World War, there are not fewer than thirty nationalities living in New England. Excluding English, Scotch, Irish, Canadian and such nationalities who because of the common language, are naturally quickly assimilated, the leading nationalities represented are, roughly, French-Canadians, 700,000; Italians, 500,000; Russians, 500,000; Austrians, 200,000; Germans, 175,000; Scandinavians, 150,000; Turks, 50,000; Greeks, 50,000; Hungarians, 45,000; and Finns, 40,000. Of course, many of these now speak English, and are "American."

This infiltration of foreigners has changed the complexion of New England and particularly of the Commonwealth. From a homogeneous folk, who, in 1812, could boast that not a single foreign born legislator occupied a seat in the General Court, a century wrought a tremendous transformation. Unquestionably, the development for the most part took place following the Civil War period but, fundamentally, the movement began after the War of 1812, was followed by the great period of expansion which created an opportunity for all the ambitious and energetic people of Europe to advance their fortunes and stations by migration to America.

A whole life-time of research and the coördinated generalizing of a school of scholars would hardly be sufficient for an adequate appreciation of the problems and causes and consequence of immigration to

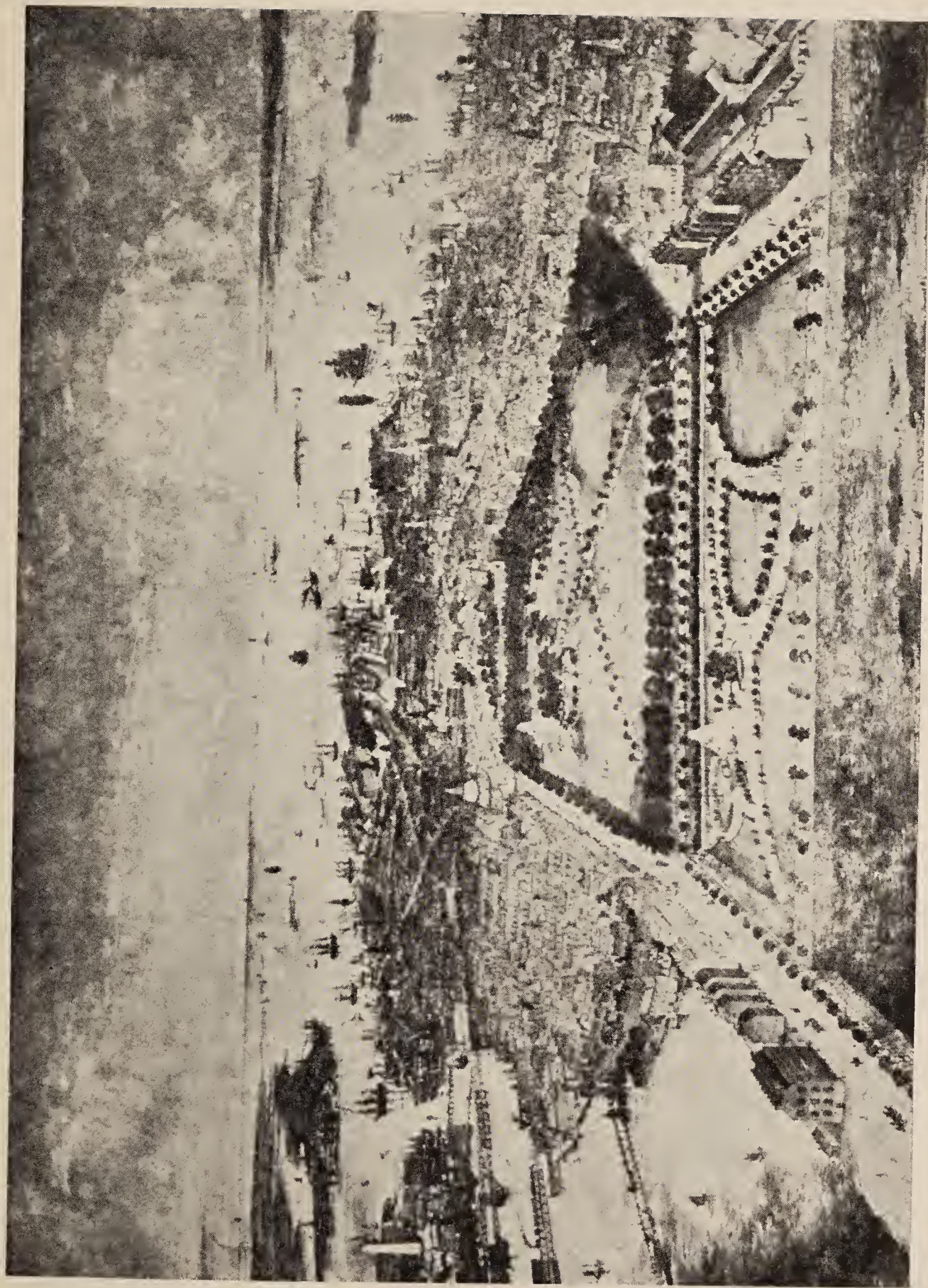
America. And the problem of Massachusetts, though limited in area, is no less difficult for it is an epitome of the entire continent. Thus, in this brief space, it is almost impossible to do other than to sketch in broad and necessarily inadequate outline what occurred—and is occurring.

It would appear that when the nineteenth century opened in Massachusetts and the War of 1812 was endured, Massachusetts' march from "homogeneity to heterogeneity" was initiated by two forces: first, the bounding energy and effervescing vigor of the native born stock which led them to consider New England too small and which caused them to participate in the progressive conquest of the West; and second, the same vital power which, possessed by those who did not care to migrate westward, caused them to develop New England's resources with unparalleled intensity. Both, as far as immigration is concerned, led to the same result. The first force, by reducing the population of New England, created an opportunity for immigrants. The second, by creating a need for man-power, intensified the opportunity. In short, westward migration caused an ebbing away from New England of "native stock," and development of industry and prosperity caused an inflowing tide of foreign labor.

Not only was the substitution of foreign stock for native eventually to bring about an alteration in nationality—almost in race—but it immediately caused a variation in character. Almost entirely, the natives who went were agricultural folk—and almost to the same degree, the newcomers who took their room, were, or became, city dwellers. Thus, for more than a century, New England cities have grown while the rural areas, where they have not stagnated, have dwindled. In fact, New England's rural area, production considered, reached its highest point early in the 19th century and has progressively declined relatively ever since.

For example, despite the tremendous growth of Greater Boston, there are sections within a few hour's travel from the State House, which are pathless wildernesses, tangles of brush and briars which, when hardily penetrated, are found to bear eloquent testimony of a race that has vanished. Gaping holes, filled with a talus of chimney bricks and foundation stones, mark the sites of homesteads; apple trees, mossed and ravaged, show where orchards once thrived, and long stone walls, monuments to a dawn to dark industry that today's workers cannot believe, let alone emulate, show where once hay-fields, pastures and crops flourished.

Away from Boston, up through the western part of the State, the story is the same. There are entire valleys now dark with towering



A BIRD'S EYE VIEW OF BOSTON AND ITS SURROUNDINGS IN 1850

forest and inhabited only by deer, bear and wildcats, which, a hundred years ago, were bright, fertile dales, numbering their villages in chains and brimmed with a fecund, earnest and industrious folk who, forsaking the land won from Indians and England with so much sacrifice, passed on to develop the Middle and Far West.

The woods of New England have buried the enterprise of a great people. There may be much that is romantic and picturesque about the deserted farmsteads—grey weathered buildings collapsing about drunken central chimneys and surrounded by the advance guard of the returning wilderness—but economically, the sight is tragic.

Of course, economically, it could not have been prevented. The adventurous sons and daughters who migrated westward, left behind fathers and mothers who, burdened with the same energy and laden with wealth harvested from fishing and foreign trade, had to have something to do to occupy their idle hands and capital. Industry was the natural outlet. Prior to 1812, industry had been restricted, first by English businessmen, and later by national conditions. But after 1812, the world was open to American products and New England was the first section of America to take advantage of the opportunity. So manufacturing boomed and the rows of smoking chimneys rose above rows of tenements, almost as dark and much more ugly, and the gate was open to immigration. "Hands, more hands," that was the need of Boston, Lowell, Lawrence, Haverill, Worcester, Springfield and many other towns, old and new.

Census figures of the early days are not satisfactory and the Immigration Bureau did not count new citizens arriving until after 1820, so that no exact idea of immigration in the first fifth of the nineteenth century can be obtained. However, it is known that large numbers of middle class British and German folks came to America before the main rush started, as well many Irishmen, mostly of the laboring class. It is said, without any strict regard for fact, that the first railroads of New England were built by Irishmen and that every wooden sleeper, ties they are called today, was the headstone of an Irishman's grave. Exaggerated as this hyperbole is, it is a fact that the first Irish immigrants were laborers and lightly regarded (witness Emerson's opinion) and, while they found plenty of work in the summer, they were necessarily idle in the winter and did constitute a serious problem for the Commonwealth.

Ill-clad and poverty-stricken, lacking both tools and the skill to use them, it was natural that these Irishmen, liberty-loving folk who fled Ireland as much as to escape persecution as from desire for economic betterment, should be victimized. Arriving here, they could

not pay their way westward, where they might have prospered in the new lands, but were compelled to stay near the seaports and to barter their muscular strength for just food enough to survive. Financial aid was the only means open to the poor souls when winter came and both public and private charities organized to save them from starvation. In fact, many societies were formed for the precise purpose of aiding them; witness, "The Hibernian Charitable Society" and the "Irish Emigrant Society." Soon, the children of these wretched folk were to come into their own and the day was not far distant when their children's children were to rule, through their political genius, the children's children of the native born families who supported the charitable societies but, meanwhile, American history has probably shown no more unhappy and unfortunate class than the Irish laborer immigrant of the first part of the nineteenth century.

The fact that the Irishmen were supported in their need, speaks volumes for the tolerant spirit which had grown up over the ashes of Puritanism. To begin with, the Irish were Catholics and, as such, were open to at least suspicion and, in some measure to hatred. But there does not seem to have been any general disposition on the part of the native stock to treat the unfortunate Irish other than as fellow humans. One writer credits Bishop Cheverus, their religious leader, as being responsible for this to some degree. Certainly the good Father did endear himself to Boston and won the regard of everyone.

But, what must have been a harder obstacle for the native stock to overcome, was the poverty of the Irish. No Yankee of those days was anything but charitable, but his ancestry had taught him to consider poverty as direct evidence of laziness and carelessness. Thus the wretched condition of the Irish, who came to live in even more wretched slums in the poorest sections of the cities, must have excited feelings of criticism as well as of sympathy. But the hands of the Irish were needed. There were ditches to be dug, bricks to be laid, roads to make and mend and thus, despite all to the contrary, Irish were welcomed and supported until they began to make their own way.

But the British and Irish were not the only immigrants. Although natives of the British Isles made up more than half the number of immigrants entering America in the ten years ending 1830, Germany sent 5,753, France, 5,135, Switzerland, 3,148 and Holland, 1,105. But in 1832 60,000 immigrants, 25 percent Germanic, came, a condition which continued developing until in 1854, out of 427,000 immigrants into American States, 215,000 were German. This is the only year, however, up to the Civil War, when Germanic migration exceeded that from Great Britain. All in all, in the first half century, Great Britain

and Ireland, sent more than one half of the estimated number of immigrants to America—3,300,000 out of some 6,000,000.

These figures are, of course, for the entire United States. What happened in Massachusetts can best be shown by the census figures of 1850. In that year, out of a population of 994,514 souls, 164,024 were foreign born—about 16 percent foreign.

The significant fact of this proportion, however, is that at least half of the 16 percent were British and Irish and the balance were almost all of the so-called Nordic race, who have never experienced any difficulty in assimilation after a few year's residence. In all New England, the figures show there were only 290 Portuguese, 264 Italians, 45 Russians and a few families from Mediterranean countries.

And this same proportion was maintained for another fifteen years, right through the Civil War. Massachusetts' census for 1865 shows that only 17,000 British immigrants came into the state during the period, while several other nationalities showed decline. French Canadians, however, in the period, started their great migration, during the time 10,000 of them came down from Canada.

Thus, all in all, up to the Civil War time, Yankee blood held its own, despite the migration to the west. "Natives" were lessened proportionately, certainly, but they greatly outnumbered foreign born folks, particularly those of the "latin" races and the Slavic type.

However, there was a fly in the ointment, which showed itself darkly in certain statistics. Under the surface, the change to heterogeneity was already well under way. State papers of 1860 reveal that the number of occupants in insane "hospitals" increased about 100 percent between 1833 and 1852 and the number of State paupers of 1852 was 14,388 of whom, 11,321 were "foreigners." In one year of that period, 1,590 foreign paupers entered the Commonwealth.

Even more significant are 1855 statistics for certain cities. They showed that in five years, the Commonwealth's urban population had varied in two ways: the native citizens decreased about three percent and the foreign population increased about 70 percent. In 1855, foreign born folks formed 62 percent of the population of Boston; 54 percent of Lowell, 72 percent of Lawrence and 61 percent of Fall River. Voting lists of that year showed that native born voters increased 15 percent while foreign born voters increased 195 percent.

That these figures were significant is shown by the statement which Carroll D. Wright, director of the 1855 Massachusetts' census, made in his report: "It will be very difficult to name a day in the future when the number of American citizens in the distinctive sense that this term is used, will again constitute a majority. . . ."

Massachusetts was still Yankee in Civil War days. The old families, though their sons had scattered until they reached the Pacific, still held control of business and commerce and political office. But the balance of power had even then begun to swing away from the descendants of the Puritans and it was a foregone conclusion that the principles of Winthrop and Adams would doubtless come to be interpreted by alien philosophies.

CHAPTER XXXV

The Second Constitutional Convention (1820-21)

Although the Constitution of the Commonwealth was accepted in 1780 under considerable difficulties, it is now recognized that this document, accomplished in 64 days, was one of the most successful and permanent American State constitutions of its time. Faulty though it was in details, it was so soundly constructed and the various general principles set forth were so logically and liberally drafted that it still endures after one hundred and fifty-six years. Tinkered here and there by a patchwork of amendments, its obsolete and contradictory minutiae have been adjusted so as to leave the skeleton practically with its original bones. Thus, today, the Massachusetts Constitution is not only the oldest American body of fundamental law but it is also the oldest written constitution in the world now in operation.

However, at the time, even Governor John Hancock had his misgivings about the permanence and quality of the State constitution. Perhaps he did not mean anything specific by his action, but he did, when taking office under the new constitution, begin the practice of signing State documents with the prayer, now meaninglessly continued, "God Save the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." Likewise, many prominent men felt that the Constitution had its faults—and even farmers and small business men, for altogether different reasons, believed that the document could be bettered at least in its details.

Under the Constitution, Chapter VI, Article X, there was a provision for a constitutional convention to revise the document in 1795. Accordingly, that year, the critics of the Constitution caused an election to be held for the purpose of calling such a convention. The vote was close, evidently the Constitution had won friends in its fifteen years of operation. A bare majority declared for revision but, since the enabling article required a two thirds majority, that ruled the proposed revision out altogether.

This Chapter VI, Article X was the only specific means of so holding a convention and it was considered that the loss of the election ended

the possibility of modifying the document. However, it soon became apparent that such was not the case. In accordance with the general precedents of all the States of the Union, a Constitution can be amended or revised or even rewritten at any time. In fact, since it was the people who, tacitly at least, wrote the Constitution, the people naturally could revoke it at will and form a new one—or adopt any other form of government the majority wished. This consideration led to the formation of a definite policy of amendment and revision through a possibly somewhat liberal interpretation of Article VII of the Bill of Rights. The Bill of Rights declares the people have “. . . the indefeasible right . . . to institute government . . . and to reform, alter, and change the same, when their protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness require it.” And, since, the General Court has authority over the well-being of the Commonwealth and the good of its citizens, excepting when specifically limited by statute and its own agreement, the General Court thus has the right to promote the common good of the State and the people by either offering the citizens the opportunity to vote upon a new Constitutional Convention or accepting or denying any specific amendment to the Constitution which would add to or alter the Great Document.

It took the leaders of the State several years to reach this understanding with themselves and each other and, in the meantime, the Commonwealth drifted along through the days of the Rise and Fall of Federalism and the War of 1812. As a matter of fact, national and international problems were far more important than domestic questions in those perilous days when the State was young.

However, late in the 'teens of the nineteenth century, the District of Maine began to experience growing pains and it shortly became apparent that the citizens of that section of Massachusetts would soon separate from the Bay State. The matter came to a head in Washington in 1819 and in Boston Governor Brooks, in his message of January 13, 1820, questioned whether or not “considerations affecting the interests of the people, as connected with the future operations of the government, will not, at the present time, call for at least, a partial revision of the Constitution?” The General Court considered the question of asking the people if they desired to hold a constitutional convention, but took no immediate action because it was not known then how Washington would vote on Maine's bill. In fact, it was not certain until Congress did pass the Maine-Missouri Act on March 3, 1820, that Maine would be formed into a separate State. Thus, it was too late for any action by the General Court during the then winter session.

When, in May, the General Court again assembled, a nice question

arose. Maine had definitely withdrawn, as of March 15th, and her senators and representatives did not attend Beacon Hill thereafter. For example, in place of forty senators, the Court opened with but thirty-one. Was this emasculated legislature constitutional? Could it even sit before a constitutional convention had met and drafted a new legalizing document? If so, who could legally call such a Convention? Eventually it was determined that the Legislature was legally empowered to conduct its business as usual but that it would be wise to call a Constitutional Convention forthwith because “. . . a very general expectation exists among the people in every quarter of the State that the occasion would be taken, and was very favorable for the Revision of the Constitution”

Thus the Second Constitutional Convention came into being. Interesting enough, the bill provided that each town and city could elect as many delegates as it was empowered to choose Representatives to the General Court and that no one could vote for a delegate unless he could also vote for a representative. Thus this convention did not function through a completely popular vote as did the first.

By a vote of 11,756 to 6,593 (the Western Counties forming most of the opposition) the General Court's proposal for a convention was accepted and delegates were elected on October 16th. Four hundred and ninety were elected but five of them did not put in appearance when the Convention assembled in the State House on the 15th of November.

Few public assemblies in Massachusetts, have had such a distinguished membership. To name a few, there were John Adams, Daniel Webster, Josiah Quincy, Chief Justice Parker, United States Supreme Court Judge Story, Chief Justice Lemuel Shaw, Joseph B. Varnum, James T. Austin, George Bliss, Levi Lincoln and General H. A. S. Dearborn—names to conjure with for the most part. The calibre of the convention is shown by the fact that outside of the party contest for the presidency, won by Federalist Judge Parker over Democratic Judge Story by a majority of one, party feeling was entirely absent. Radical Democrat Samuel Dana of Groton spoke for all the delegates when he declared that “the Constitution should be approached with great reverence, and that we should proceed with great caution.” President Judge Parker later said, “. . . the whole talent of the Democratic Party was arrayed on the side of sound principle and good order.” That the Federalists were conservative is a point that need not be labored! Judge Story himself wrote the epitome of the Convention: “There was a pretty strong body of Radicals, who seemed well disposed to get rid of all the great and fundamental barriers of

the Constitution. Another class still more efficient and by no means small in number, was that of lovers of the people, alias the lovers of popularity. . . . But after all these deductions, there was a strong body of sound, reflective, intelligent men, who listened and were convinced, and marched onwards with a steady eye to the public good. On the whole, I never knew so great a number of men, who seemed to be so deliberative, upon whom argument produced so powerful and wholesome an effect, and who could be so completely taken away from their own obstinate prejudices”

Still other evidence of the calibre of the delegates is shown by the fact that, although the General Court had given them unlimited authority to fix their own payroll, the delegates were content to charge a salary of but two dollars a day, plus two daily newspapers apiece.

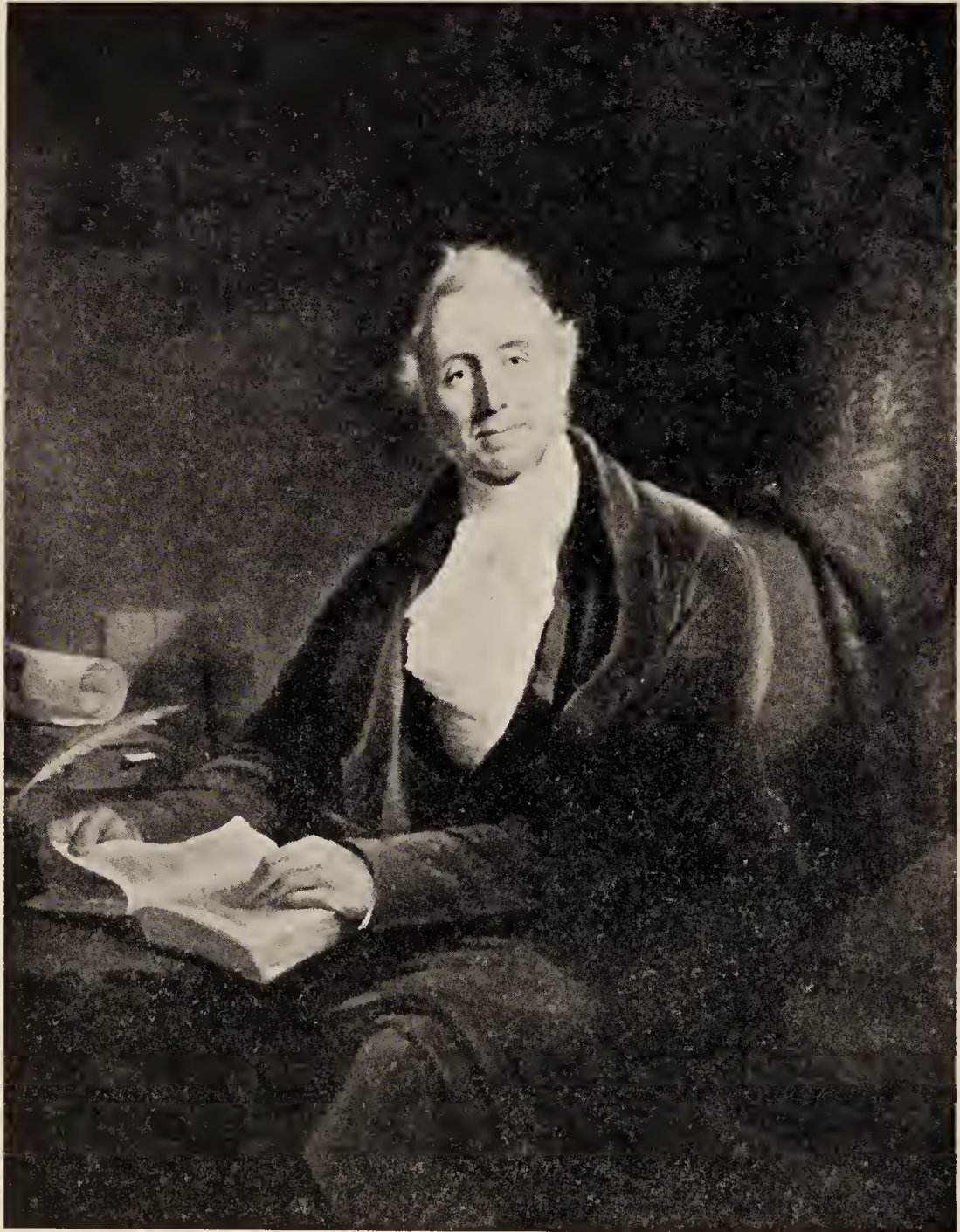
And the delegates lost no time in getting right down to business. First adopting the procedure, by which proposed alterations to the Constitution would be divided into definite amendments so that any one or more could be accepted or rejected independently of the rest rather than lump the whole business together for acceptance or rejection (as was done at the First Constitutional Convention), the delegates began their debates on November 22nd. Debates and voting was continued only to January 3, 1821, making the session only 47 days long—the shortest on record. At the last sitting, the delegates voted to submit their fourteen proposed propositions to the people on April 9, 1821 and to have a committee meet on May 24th to declare such amendments as were accepted by a majority vote to be a part of the Constitution through the Governor and the General Court in due order.

The first proposed proposition, or amendment, was concerned principally with liberalizing Article Three of the Declaration of Rights dealing with the inter-relations of religion and government, Church and State. The proposition as offered to the voters simply deleted the section which made attendance at worship compulsory and clarified the bitterly contested question about the payment of religious taxes. Formerly everyone had had to pay these taxes towards the support of the Congregational ministry; recent laws had changed the situation somewhat, making it the intention of the statutes that a communicant could pay his taxes to the pastor of his own choice and denomination, including Catholics, but judicial interpretations had so muddled the problem that no one knew precisely what the legal position was and disputes and controversies were the order of the day. All in all, the proposition was very tame—the leadership of the Congregational establishment was not seriously affected, taxes were still compulsory for the support of religion, and Church and State were still firmly wedded.

This mild proposition was not offered to the people by the delegates without much of the argument which always and, apparently inevitably, is associated with religious questions. One principle was offered by John Adams. He would have the proposition give equal protection of the law to "all men of all religions" rather than just to "men of every denomination of Christians." The delegates refused the former President's tolerance. A real storm was aroused by the proposal of Childs of Pittsfield who, far in advance of his time, suggested that the entire religious difficulty be eliminated by withdrawing the State from the Church. Aroused delegates howled that Childs' proposal would ruin the Commonwealth, subvert morality and even call down Divine Wrath. Delegate Leverett Saltonstall of Salem, opposed the idea on two grounds. First, he feared the decay of the Church: ". . . the fearful experiment . . . our temples of worship will decay and fall around us." And, secondly, he feared that the denial of the force of the State to support religious taxes would be a destruction of a "vested interest." Said Mr. Saltonstall, "Corporate rights and privileges are sacred things. . . . I stand as in the presence of our ancestors; they conjure us not to destroy what they planted with so much care. Let us not in one hour destroy the venerable work of two centuries. . . ." Incidentally Daniel Webster supported the conservatives and the Childs' proposal never had a chance. But, then, neither did the first proposition itself, mild and inconclusive as it was. The people rejected it: 19,547 no to 11,065 yes.

The second proposition of the fourteen was a measure aimed at economy; it would have provided that State elections would be held on a single day, the second Monday in November, instead of on different days in April and May—and also that the political year would begin on the first Wednesday in January instead of the last Wednesday in May. One economy of the proposal would have been very great; it would have deleted the spring session of the Legislature, a session at which the representatives did little more than get organized, enjoy themselves and go home in time to look after their farms. Delegate Daniel Webster, arguing in the Convention, supported the spring elections because they kept State and National politics distinct. Delegate Josiah Quincy opposed the change of the political year, from May to January, because he disliked any alteration in "institutions established by our ancestors at the first settlement of our country." Further, if the change was made, "a snow storm, of the ancient violence and depth" would tend to keep members of the Court from country districts out of Boston and thus radically alter the character of the General

Court. "As well," he declared, "take the warm and glowing sun of May from the sign, in which he predominates at that season, and place him in the sign which rules the inverted year; as well take the flowers



MARCUS MORTON

Associate Justice Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, 1825-1840; Governor of Massachusetts, 1840-41 and 1843-44

and green surface of June, and spread them as a carpet in January, as transfer the institution of the former period to those of the latter. It could not be done. Nature is against it." But the convention thought it could, although the people did not; the amendment was rejected, 14,164 to 16,728.

The third proposition excited no particular feeling; it simply clarified the exercise of the Governor's veto power. It slipped through the Convention readily and was accepted by the people to become the First Amendment to the Constitution.

The fourth proposition was more controversial. It gave the General Court authority to grant a city charter to any municipality of a population of 12,000 or more. As a whole, the Commonwealth was strongly attached to the old town meeting form of government and the final vote reflected this fact; all of the State with the exception of Boston going against the proposal. Boston, however, went out strongly for city charters and swung the balance. The vote was 14,368 to 14,306 and the business became the Second Amendment to the Constitution.

The fifth proposition was not only difficult but one of perennial trouble; it was concerned with the membership of the General Court and related questions, such as the apportionment of representation. Gerrymandering, then as now, was ammunition useful to both sides in any argument. To check this alleged evil, the proposition proposed to increase the number of representatives greatly, to adopt a minimum number for representation, and to make senatorial districts coincide with counties. Also, it was proposed by John Adams to elect the Governor's Council directly instead of by the Court. Said Adams, "If not, let us abolish the Council altogether." Levi Lincoln led the effort to make senatorial apportionment follow population rather than concentration of wealth. He said that Suffolk County (wealthy) had one senator for every 7,500 citizens; Berkshire, (not so wealthy) one for every 20,000. He insisted that this was wrong. Said the future governor, "Property is incompetent to sustain a free government; intelligence alone can uphold any free government." Judge Story and John Adams opposed Lincoln; Adams declaring that the system helped "to render property secure," which end was the "great object of government." The people agreed with Adams, declining to accept the proposition by two to one.

The sixth proposition labored the extension of the franchise. Those were the days before the secret ballot system and the days when the right to vote was considered to be worth having and a privilege worth using. The proposition offered to the people simply provided that all tax paying citizens could vote for elective officers. It was not agreed upon by the Convention without some trouble. John Keyes of Concord at first offered universal suffrage, for men only. Samuel Hoar, his associate, arose in wrathful opposition, declaring that the old property qualification for suffrage encouraged young men to be sober and

industrious. Universal suffrage, he asserted, "went directly to sap the foundations of society." Josiah Quincy also objected, claiming that, as the Commonwealth was destined to be a great industrial State, it would be unwise to give the vote to every man for then employers of labor could deliver the votes of their employees in a bloc to the harm of other interests. At the first vote, the Keyes suggestion was defeated but, upon reconsideration was passed, because Daniel Webster, as chairman of the committee of the whole, cast his vote to break a 200 to 200 tie. And then, George Blake of Boston suggested that the proposition be amended by patching on a tax-paying qualification. This was done and the voters made the sixth proposition the Third Amendment to the Constitution by 18,702 votes to 10,150. However, it should be noted that the amendment did not mean much because the old property qualification was not enforced to any degree. In fact, the vote at the State election in 1822, the first after the adoption of the Third Amendment, was smaller than for several elections preceding.

Both the seventh and eighth propositions were popular and readily accepted by the people. The seventh gave the Governor and Council additional appointive powers, taking them away from the General Court. It became the Fourth Amendment. The eighth proposition, which became the Fifth Amendment, gave the right of election of captains and lieutenants of militia companies to all members of their respective companies.

The ninth proposition won through the Convention hardily. It was concerned with the judiciary. The Convention committee, headed by Judge Story, recommended that the existing recall provision in the Constitution be changed to require a two thirds vote of both Houses of the General Court. This was supported by Lemuel Shaw and by Daniel Webster because they believed the judicial system could not be as independent and honest as it should be if a judge was subject to recall by a bare majority of the General Court. Levi Lincoln led the opposition; claiming that he did not know or did not believe that the Commonwealth's judges had ever displayed any lack of independence and honesty. Finally the Convention compromised with a provision that no justice could be recalled unless cause was shown and the accused given an opportunity to defend himself. Even this was not unchallenged. James T. Austin, later to be an attorney general said, "While we secure the independence of the judges, we should remember they are but men, and sometimes mere partisans. We have heard of men being elevated to high judicial positions, not because they were the most able and the most learned, but because they stood in the front ranks of their party." Also, the ninth proposition contained proposals

to remove justices of the peace in the same manner as judges and proposals eliminating provisions from the Constitution dealing with advisory opinions by the Supreme Judicial Court. The complicated proposition as finally submitted to the people met with rejection—12,471 to 14,518.

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The tenth proposition concerned itself with Harvard University. Chapter V of the Constitution defined the rights and privileges of the college. Some folks thought it expedient to alter some of the provisions of the chapter and the proposal was referred to a convention committee headed by Josiah Quincy, later to be president of Harvard University. He reported in due course not only that alteration was not expedient but that the college charter, given in 1642, was inviolable beyond the tinkering of even a Constitutional Convention. Not all the delegates so esteemed the Harvard Charter; for Quincy's report did not silence them. They appointed Daniel Webster and a committee of four others to investigate Harvard and to report upon its finances, its rights and privileges and the amounts it received from the public treasury. Daniel Webster duly investigated and reported, rubber-stamping Quincy. Still some of the delegates were not squelched and, after asking and obtaining the consent of the College Corporation and Board of Overseers, offered a proposition and pushed it through the Convention which, in simple terms, amended Chapter V of the State Constitution to the extent of opening clerical chairs on the Board to ministers of all Christian denominations, instead of having them limited to ministers of the Congregational Church. For some reason, the people rejected this proposition by a heavy majority—perhaps because the majority of the citizens having the franchise were Congregationalists.

The Eleventh and Twelfth propositions were both concerned with the simplification of the oath of allegiance required in the very complicated and involved religious form under Article One of the Sixth Chapter of the Constitution. Like all religious disputes, these two propositions involved some acrimonious debate but the words in which the Convention presented the propositions to the voters are admirably reasonable. "We have agreed that the declaration of belief in the Christian religion ought not to be required in the future; because we do not think the assuming of civil office a suitable occasion for so declaring; and because it is implied, that every man who is accepted for office, in this community, must have such sentiments of religious duty as relate to his fitness for the place to which he is called." The voters accepted the two propositions, making them, respectively, the Sixth and Seventh Amendments.

The Thirteenth proposition, prohibited the same person from holding certain State and Federal offices at the same time and also outlawed certain election details omitted from consideration in the original constitution. The proposition was accepted and became the Eighth Amendment to the Constitution.

The Fourteenth proposition was, in many ways, the most important business of the Convention. It provided the regular legal means of amending the State Constitution—the method still in force after one hundred and sixteen years. The original amendment as brought into the Convention by Daniel Webster and his committee, provided for amendments to be proposed by two thirds of the members of both houses and to be ratified by a majority of the voters. Quincy and Austin opposed this scheme, feeling that it made amendments so difficult as to be impossible. Accordingly the plan was revised to read “a majority of the senators and two thirds of the House of representatives present and voting thereon.” This last proposition was adopted by the voters and thus became the Ninth Amendment to the Constitution.

With nine of its fourteen amendments accepted by the citizens, the second Constitutional Convention may well be considered as having done its work well. Particularly when it is realized that three of the amendments which the Convention passed were adopted by the people, following their original denial, within the next two decades.

The first of these was the Tenth Amendment, practically the same as the Second Proposition of the 1820 Convention. It, accepted in 1831, changed the beginning of the political year from the former last Wednesday in May to the first Wednesday in January, as at present, and also placed all State elections upon a single annual date, the second Monday in November, as now.

And, two years later, the Eleventh Amendment was passed, very similar to the First Proposition of the 1820 Convention. It was in effect a victory for liberalism in religious matters. Withdrawing State support from the Church, it did permit religious organizations to tax their respective members (this right continued on the books until 1887) but it so defined members of religious societies that all sects were made equal and the State definitely not an enforcing agent. What the amendment did was to allow the rebellious members of the Congregational Establishment to withdraw at will and be free of religious taxes, since they were not required to join any other church. The act establishing the amendment says, “And no person shall hereafter be made . . . a member of any parish or religious society, so as to be liable to be taxed therein for the support of public worship . . . without

his express consent for that purpose first . . . obtained." Incidentally, the Eleventh Amendment was accepted by a vote of 32,234 to 3,372, a larger majority than any other amendment had received.

The Fifth proposition, the one which dealt with the horny subject of the General Court's numbers and election machinery, was again brought up and two amendments were adopted to provide some of the changes the proposition had attempted. The business was long and involved. Up to 1812, the payroll of members of the General Court was met by the State treasury. That year, the expense was transferred to the towns. Naturally and immediately, the number of representatives shrunk and the amount of time they devoted to the public welfare was greatly shortened. Then, in 1822, when the State again assumed the payroll, the number of representatives and the length of time they were willing to devote increased again amazingly. From 160 before 1820, the membership of the House rose to more than six hundred and the tax payers paid five times as much as before for the privilege of having a Legislature paid out of the general funds. Naturally, this condition of affairs was bitterly resented by the cities and welcomed by the smaller and poorer towns. Each year an attempt was made to limit representation; each year the small towns sent enough representatives to defeat any remedial measures which would cost them influence—and their share of the tax money. Accordingly, despairing of a General Court that would vote itself out of well paid jobs, it was realized by the friends of economy that only another Constitutional Convention would turn the trick. Accordingly, in 1833, a bill similar to that forming the 1820 convention was submitted by a committee of the House headed by Robert Rantoul. But then the House asked the Supreme Judicial Court two questions: First, could a constitutional convention, if called, be restrained from passing amendments to be given to the people, on topics other than the specific question for the solution of which they were summoned. To this the Supreme Court answered that the Convention, being extra-Constitutional, would derive its powers not from the General Court but from the people and, tacitly, would not be bound by the General Court's expressed limitations. The second question asked was, can any specific amendment be made to the Constitution other than by the method prescribed in the Ninth Amendment. To this, the Court replied, "No." Taking the Court's opinions to heart, the General Court passed the convention bill to a second and third reading—and then let it die. Again, in 1834, a similar bill was brought out of Committee. It defied the Supreme Court's opinion that a convention could not be limited, and ordered that the proposed Con-

vention consider only amendments limiting representation. Naturally, the bill met heavy weather and was indefinitely postponed. In fact, it slumbered for fifteen years.

But the greed of members of the General Court became an open scandal eventually and, in 1836, the Legislature passed the Twelfth Amendment, the first reforming legislative representation since the First Constitution was adopted in 1780. The voters ratified the amendment the same year. As a means of reducing Legislative expense, the amendment did not accomplish very much for it maintained the membership of the House well above 500. However, it did make several important reforms. It doubled the old unit of representation and towns having less than the required 300 ratable polls were given the choice of having a representative every few years in proportion to their polls or of combining with some other small town or towns to form a representative district in which the number of ratable polls were up to the required unit of representation.

During the next four years, the dissatisfaction with the General Court's numerousness and, also with the apportionment and several other details, continued unabated. Constant failure to awaken the slumbering proposal for a third constitutional convention, because the legislatures were afraid that such a convention might go too far and consider other details of the Commonwealth's well being which were better left alone,—in their opinion—finally led the agitators for reform to add the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution. This was really the beginning of the establishment of the modern direct elective system in large part. Some of the changes which it accomplished did not mean very much and pleased no one in particular. Such was the substitution of inhabitants of a town for ratable polls as the basis of representation and the fixing of existing senatorial districts as permanent and the assigning of senators to them according to the number of inhabitants in place of the old ratable polls. However, the amendment did do three things worth while. First was the abolishment of the old property apportionment, the sticking point back in 1820, the point over which John Adams waxed eloquent in declaring it to be the keystone of government and which other delegates had wished to set up as a sacred institution of the Founding Fathers. Second, the Thirteenth Amendment divested the Court of the election of the Council and gave it to the people, as the 1820 Convention had proposed during their debates. And, third, the amendment abolished the old property qualification for the franchise in so far as the election of Councillors, Senators and Representatives went. It was not enough; but it was a good beginning.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Politics from the Fall of Federalism to the Civil War (1823-61)

The tremendous development of the United States between the War of 1812 and the Civil War was doubly effective within Massachusetts. Not only did the citizens of the State turn from fishing and farming to commerce and manufacturing, but the building of railroads in the Middle and Far West, the competition of Western grains with Eastern and the ever rising tide of immigration plus the scarcely less important outpouring of native stock to upbuild the West—all these influenced the development of Massachusetts.

Naturally, all these factors were reflected in politics. In the beginning, there was the split between city and country—industry opposed to agriculture. Upon this schism was imposed the conflict between the dual interests of capital; the interests of the commercial families who, naturally fought for free trade, and the interests of the manufacturing families, who, just as naturally, struggled for higher and ever higher tariff walls. And, causing a third trouble, was the demand of all classes, but particularly those of small means, for equal services from the government—good roads, schools, universal franchise and other such social advances, supported mostly by those who were not taxed directly and opposed by those who were. Ultimately, as these problems were all worked out in the ebbing and flowing of political power from one party to the other, the grave business of slavery appeared. Budding as abolitionism, a moral matter but serious for all that, the problem soon became economic, as profits of merchants and manufacturers were threatened, and then it became patriotic, emotional, as the existence of the Union itself was endangered. Thus, the two generations between 1812 and 1861 were not only feverish and often bitter in themselves, but tremendously significant in determining the progress of the Commonwealth.

After practical domination of Massachusetts for an entire generation, Federalism, discredited earlier in national affairs, lost its grip

finally within the State in 1823. That year, Federalist John Brooks, governor since 1816, lost the election to William Eustis, a friend and supporter of Jefferson. The following year, the presidential year, further emphasized the Fall of Federalism for, the Federalist candidate for Governor was hopelessly beaten. In national affairs, Federalism pinned its hopes upon John Quincy Adams, a bitter pill to swallow, for Adams had, earlier, roundly denounced Federalism. In 1825, Federalists in Massachusetts did not even try to beat their foes and in 1826 they entered the campaign only as a matter of half-hearted duty.

What was happening was that the bankrupt Federalists were entering the camp of what was then the Republican party. At the same time however, other Federalists and liberal Republicans were initiating the formation of the party which was soon to become the Democratic party, as it was then known. This came about for many reasons. In the first place, the maritime interests hated Adams for his protective tariff sympathy. In the second place, many voters, the more liberal and radical ones, disliked Adams and his supporters because they feared the conservatives were too "aristocratic." William H. Crawford formed the original figurehead around which the new party first crystalized in 1824, led by David Henshaw and Marcus Morton. Henshaw was a powerful self-made banker who stood outside the hereditary clans typified by the Lawrence family. He was not only the financier of the new party but the spokesman of the urban elements it contained. Morton, an able politician, represented the rural interests and became a very powerful figure so.

For a time, Henshaw and Morton did not withdraw their support from Adams and the Republicans nationally. Thus Adams aided Henshaw win a seat in the State Senate and Morton was given the lieutenant governorship in 1825 when Levi Lincoln led the Republicans to victory.

But, in 1826, the split did come, largely from a quarrel over free bridges. Henshaw was given permission to build a free bridge from Boston proper to South Boston—the idea being a real estate development in that region.

About the same time, another group of promoters sought to build a similar bridge over the Charles between Boston and Charlestown. Since this would kill Harvard's ferry monopoly, the plan was opposed and Governor Lincoln refusing to sign, the eventual bill battled through the General Court. This aroused the ire of Middlesex County, particularly of farmers, and Henshaw joined in the excitement. This cut him off from his Republican friends and left him alone with the shadowy formation of a new Democratic party.

Accordingly, Henshaw at once set about building a Jackson party in Massachusetts. Opposed was the strong Federalist-Republican group supporting Adams and Webster and led to victory within the State by Levi Lincoln. While thus Henshaw and Morton were beaten at the state polls, nationally Jackson was victorious and the two Massachusetts Democrats found themselves embarrassed by a richness of patronage. However, in the upbuilding of their party, Henshaw and Morton had enlisted the aid of many Boston ex-Federalists, led by merchant George W. Lyman. Thus, while Henshaw and Morton were outwardly the Santa Claus in Massachusetts for deserving Democrats, Lyman and his group also had their merits—merits to which Jackson turned a willing ear. There were jobs enough to go round, but the fact that Jackson gave jobs to Lyman's friends alienated Morton and Henshaw, who were not really Jacksonites but more disciples of Jefferson. This split prevented the Democrats from amounting to much within the State, Governor Lincoln continued to triumph in each election over Morton.

While the Republicans and the Democrats were thus busy, two new parties developed and, for a few years became important. The first of these was what is known as the Anti Masons. They were really only a group of emotional reformers, symptoms of the age, and elected to label themselves by opposing the Masonic fraternity as supposedly undemocratic. No one took the party seriously, although in 1829, when Lincoln was again re-elected, the new party did elect three members to the upper house and some 20 to the lower house of the General Court.

But, by 1831, the Anti Masons were a force to be reckoned with indeed. They nominated Samuel Lathrop for Governor and actually put their man into second place, way ahead of the Democratic Morton. The vote stood: Lincoln, 28,800; Lathrop, 13,357; and Morton, 11,000. And, in the House, the Anti Masons seated nearly a third. Thus encouraged, the Anti Masons eagerly awaited the next election, that of 1832. However, this was a presidential year, and, as always, national issues overshadowed local. Massachusetts was opposed to Jackson generally and thus, adding Lincoln's popularity to the pot, the Republicans easily carried the State, Lincoln taking more than as many votes as both Morton and Lathrop together.

As 1833's election came around, the situation, already complicated by the three parties, became even more confused with the active entrance of a fourth party—the Workingman's. While this party, in its brief day, may be properly enough considered to have been the beginning

of labor organization of tradesmen, such as carpenters, masons and the like, it appears that the party was largely agricultural in both background and membership, being really an active expression of the smouldering hatred of the country for the city. This seems evident because the strength of the fourth party was not in the industrial east but in the agricultural counties. Active in 1832, 1833 was the high tide of this fourth party, just as it was the last full flight of the Anti Masons.

Seldom did a State election a century ago breed such fever as did the contest of 1833. Levi Lincoln did not choose to run. It has been said that he failed to enter the contest because he feared that three parties against him was too much of a good thing. However, it must be remembered that Lincoln had been governor since 1825 and he might very well have yearned for private life. As it was, the Republicans chose John Davis, a congressman, to fill the breach and the party tried to bring about a union with the Anti Masons. John Quincy Adams, however, though he had been a Lincoln supporter, spiked this move by taking the Anti Mason nomination for Governor. Morton, of course, took the Democratic leadership and Allen stood for the Workingmen. Naturally, the result was close. The final tally stood: Davis 25,149; Adams, 18,274; Morton, 15,493; Allen, 3,459. Since, under the Massachusetts law, Davis had not obtained a majority, the election was tossed into the General Court and there Adams, being more of a Republican, or Whig, as the party was beginning to call itself, or be called, than an Anti Mason tossed the decision to Davis.

Adams knew very well, that the Anti Masons were merely a temporary eddy in the political river and so, rather than swing the State over to the Democrats, gave it to the Republicans. The end result of this union of Republicanism and Anti Masons was not good to the latter. Some of them drifted over to the Democrats in despair and, while few became Whigs at once, the election of 1834 finally pushed them over the fence. In this election, Davis, the Republican Governor, was given some 45,000 votes, Morton, the Democrat, 19,255, Bailey, the Anti Masons', 10,800 and Allen, for the Workingmen, merely 2,602. This election clearly demonstrated that the Workingman's Party had been destroyed and that the Anti Masons were practically without hope.

Despite these ten years of failure within the State, and despite the rise and fall of the Anti Masons and the Workingmen, Henshaw, Morton, J. K. Simpson, Andrew Dunlap and the rest of the Democratic leaders managed to keep the party in good order and effectiveness. The lifeblood of the machine was, of course, the patronage the national successes of the Party afforded. Also, *The Statesmen*,

a Democratic newspaper edited by Charles and Nathaniel Green, helped.

After the 1834 election, the hope of the Democrats of ever coming into power, of ever ousting the Republicans turning Whigs, lay in attracting the remnants of the two temporary parties. The Anti Masons, such as did not join the Whigs, did come into the ranks with comparative ease but the Workingmen, who were agrarian, were difficult of persuasion. Finally, the trick was turned by Morton, not by the leader Henshaw. George Bancroft, the well known historian, combined his literary labors with very astute reappings in the harvest field of politics. An in-law of the Republican Governor Davis, an aristocrat by birth of Boston, Bancroft early identified himself with liberal, even radical forces and won the support of the Workingmen. Seeing where patronage really lay, he joined the Democrats at this time upon Morton's invitation, the price paid being the office of collector of the Port of Boston in 1838, nomination for Governor in 1844, a cabinet job with Polk in 1845 and the ambassadorship to London in 1846. Rather an accomplishment for a historian!

However, the 1835 election did not actually show that the Democrats had accomplished much. Governor Davis, going to the National Senate, left the nomination for governor open to Edward Everett, a mildish Anti Mason but fundamentally a Whig-Republican. Morton, naturally, headed the Democrats and made a very good showing; receiving 25,000 votes to Everett's 38,000.

The next year, Morton made an even better showing, receiving 36,000 votes to Everett's 42,000. The gain that Morton displayed was probably due to the fact that Everett, once in office, forgot his Anti Mason emotions and became a stalwart Whig.

But, the next year, Everett gained back what the party had lost; receiving 50,656 votes to Morton's 33,000. The reason back of this was not Everett's popularity but the business depression of 1837, laid by the Whigs to Jackson's financial policy, particularly, the Democratic leader's antipathy for the United States Bank. However, the economic balance worked the other way the following election; Everett still held the lead, but Morton came up from behind very rapidly, winning 42,000 votes to Everett's 51,642.

Governor since 1835, Everett looked for another victory in 1839. Indeed, the Whigs were very firmly entrenched in Massachusetts after long years of office: Daniel Webster and John Davis were their senators; in the House, they were led by the great John Quincy

Adams. And, in Boston, polished Edward Everett lorded in the State House. However, 1838 featured a serious Whig error: supported by Everett, the General Court passed an act which limited the sale of liquor to lots of not less than fifteen gallons. Naturally, the common people looked upon this legislation as discriminatory. How many of them could buy so much liquor all at once? Of course, the law was really the fruit of years of temperance agitation but, politically, it was very unfortunate for the Whigs, for, in the 1839 election, Morton at last, at long last, became Governor.

Faced with a hostile Whig majority in both houses of the General Court, Morton really was impotent. All he could do was to talk. He did that; his inaugural address in January, 1840, was a masterly presentation of the principles of Democratic government as applied to Massachusetts. He urged reform after reform in schools, prisons, banking, finance, special legislation, State aid to railroads, taxation, voting practice and such things. Soon after, many of these reforms were accomplished but not by Morton. His General Court sat and laughed at him!

In 1840, Morton hoped for a better fate. To beat him, the Whigs lacking Everett, who wished private ease, put up the former Governor, "Honest John Davis," also a United States Senator. It being a presidential year, however, and national politics being swayed by a tidal wave of revolt against the Democratic party, Harrison swept Davis along with him. Morton received a good vote, but Davis had a majority of 15,000. The next year, the death of Harrison gave the Massachusetts Democrats hope for success in putting Morton back again but Davis managed to hold his place, although the vote was close—Davis 55,974; Morton 51,367. This 1841 election was also remarkable in that it first displayed the beginnings of a new party—then called the Liberty Party—the fruits of Abolitionism and a party destined to become increasingly important nationally as well as locally.

In 1842 another overturn arrived. Morton once more gained Beacon Hill, beating Republican-Whig Davis by 1,500 votes. This came about mostly because of extra-mural business. Nationally, Tyler discredited the Whigs and boosted the stock of the Democrats. Even the great Daniel Webster was under a cloud because of Tyler. Nearer home, in Rhode Island, a conservative legislature dared to flout the people of the State so flagrantly that Massachusetts voters became so concerned over their own liberties that candidates were forced to express their views. Eventually, it became the general impression in the Commonwealth that the State's Whigs were in

sympathy with the high-handed conservatives of Rhode Island. This served to alienate a large number of votes from Davis and this, together with the national disgrace of the Whigs gave Morton his second reward for a life-time of candidacy. Of course, Morton did not have the requisite majority—the Liberty Party having swung the balance by taking 6,382 votes—but since the Democrats did obtain control of the State Senate, Morton was seated.

Morton went into office with sweeping promises of reform in taxation, governmental expenditures and extension of the franchise—promises, then, as now, easier made than kept. He was not successful in his accomplishments and was belittled by Whig charges of bribery and also suffered from the bitterness engendered by Whigs who considered that they had been betrayed nationally and tricked locally.

Naturally, with this feeling, the next election, that of 1843, was hard fought. To gain the vote of the farmers, the Whigs put up a Westerner, George N. Briggs of Berkshire County. This was a famous choice for not only was Briggs popular with the agricultural section of the electorate but, as a Congressman, he had won personal respect from everyone and, in addition, was very favorably regarded by Boston's Cotton Whigs—men like the Lawrences and the Appletons who, fearing loss of trade and business with the South, tried to ignore the rising tide of anti-slavery emotion and thus became, in effect, if not in fact, pro-slavery.

Emerson, sage of Concord, has described Briggs very well. Said Ralph Waldo of Briggs, “. . . (he is) an excellent middle man; he looks well when speaking, and seems always just ready to say something good, but never said anything. . . .” A safe, sane, middle-of-the-road man; an excellent Whig stalwart for the times. The fact that he held the governor's office for seven years demonstrates that beyond all doubt.

His election over Morton was very close: Briggs, 57,899; Morton, 54,242; and S. E. Sewall for the Liberty Party, 8,901.

With the Whigs once more in the saddle, they first busied themselves in removing all the traces of Morton's incumbency that they could do. This was the end of Morton politically as the perennial candidate for Governor; when the 1844 campaign came along, he gave way for the nomination of Bancroft as the standard bearer of the Democrats. This was perhaps an unfortunate change for the veteran Morton might have slid into office once more on the coat-tails of the Democratic landslide that seated Polk. As it was,

however, amid the wreckage of Whig hopes nationally, Briggs carried the state, beating Bancroft by nearly 15,000 votes. Significantly, the Liberty Party candidate, James G. Birney pulled some 10,000 votes out of the hat—an ominous shadow for the leaders of the two big parties.

With Bancroft's pride soothed by appointment as Secretary of the Navy and Morton made collector of the Port of Boston, the 1845 election was not interesting particularly. The election returned no majority, thanks to the emergence of the so-called Native American ticket, a group of Nordics who desired restriction of immigration. This third party, plus the ever growing Liberty Party, pulled enough votes to keep Briggs from obtaining the necessary majority over the Democratic standard bearer, Isaac Davis. However, the General Court was hopelessly Whig and Briggs kept his seat without a wrinkle of his forehead.

In 1846, the State election was again confused by a national issue; this time the war with Mexico. For many Massachusetts folks, the war was simply a sly trick of the slave-holding South seeking to gain new lands with which to extend their empire of abuse. As for the Whigs, they were divided in opinion. The younger Whigs, (Charles Francis Adams was typical), were violently opposed and their revolt marked the beginning of the Free Soil Party. And, as for ordinary voters, it was not difficult for them to think that the Democrats were right when they alleged an unholy alliance between the South and the Cotton Whigs of Boston.

However, Whig leaders were able to keep the boys in line and the election did not change things as much as the Democrats had hoped. Briggs kept his seat as Governor with a safe 54,831 vote and Davis, for the Democrats sunk to 33,199. The Liberty Party pulled 9,997 and the Native American Party received but 3,423 votes.

In the 1847 campaign, although the Liberty Party was in decline, slavery for the first time directly and seriously invaded both parties in their State nomination conventions. The section of the Democratic Party headed by Henshaw came back into power and was able to oust Davis and nominate Caleb Cushing, a general in the Mexican raid, and a former Whig. As to slavery, Amasa Walker tried to force the convention to go on record against slavery being extended into any territory anywhere subsequently acquired by the nation. The Henshaw block, steering the convention very carefully, managed to avoid this rock by keeping it from coming to a vote, thus preventing a bolt by the anti-slave Democrats. As for the Whigs, their convention was forced to vote and reject a resolution introduced by



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the radical young delegate, Palfry, which would deny the support of the Whig Party to any candidate not pledged to prevent any extension of slavery. The election was won safely by Briggs for the Whigs but the feature was not so much that, as it was the noted decline in the strength of both the Liberty and Native American parties.

What was happening was that the Whigs and the Democrats were squaring off to thrash out the slavery problem themselves and thus Whigs and Democrats had no longer any need of deserting their party to fight slavery or to support liberal ideals. And, if they did become disturbed over their failure to swing their party to their views, there was the Free Soil Party forming.

If the 1847 election was a triumph for the party managers, 1848 was not. A presidential year, the slavery controversy and the Mexican War flamed up to split parties wide open. The Whigs, being denied Webster for president, made the best of Taylor and, in Massachusetts, offered the voters Briggs. The Democrats, not satisfied with Cass as their nominee, bolted in numbers to the Free Soilers, where they were also joined by Whigs who detested the Cotton faction of their party. The national convention chose a Boston man, Charles Francis Adams, for their candidate for the Vice-Presidency and the State convention, meeting in Springfield, featuring such men as Charles Sumner, Amasa Walker and John A. Bolles, selected S. C. Phillips, a Whig merchant, for governor and went to work to split the Democratic Party wide open. The regular Democrats pinned their hopes on Cushing but he came out a poor third in the election: Briggs won, 61,640; Phillips ran well with 36,011; and Cushing received but 25,323. Of course, Briggs did not receive a majority and had to go into the General Court for election—a simple matter with a Whig majority there to rubber stamp him.

But the business was enough of a victory to raise the hopes of the Free Soilers for better things the following year. However, they were given a set back when Briggs was easily reelected. And in 1849, Briggs was again easily elected over George S. Boutwell, an up and coming Anti Slavery Democrat who was trying his wings.

The national political situation in 1850 made the State election of that year a feverish business. Free Soilers were boiling over the Compromise of 1850 and the Fugitive Slave Law and they took out their hatred upon Webster. To gain the opportunity of placing Charles Sumner in the Senate, Henry Wilson, prominent Free Soiler, proposed an alliance with the Democrats. Although this was a thorny proposal, it was finally worked out. The Democrats agreed

to support Sumner if they could receive Free Soil help in winning control of the State. Thus the united party did beat the Whigs. George S. Boutwell was made governor, Henry Wilson was made president of the Senate and Nathaniel Banks speaker of the House. Thus the stage was set for the election of Sumner as Senator—then a business of the General Court's and not of the common people. Many Whigs were horrified at such an unholy alliance as Democrats and Free Soilers and they were supported by some Democrats, led by Caleb Cushing. These protestants felt that Sumner was dangerous in that his election to Washington would create a peril to the continuance of the Union—and, thought these men, the Union was worth preserving, whether it meant condoning slavery or any other abuse. So, in the General Court opened one of the most severe Senatorial contests America has witnessed. In the Democratic caucus, Cushing was able to prevent Sumner being endorsed. From there, he took his battle to the floor of the house and, from January 14th until April 24th, Cushing led the fight against Sumner. He even offered the plum to Wilson, but that gentleman denied the bribe, declaring that the Democratic and Free Soil union was not formed for the benefit of any man or party but only for the purposes of giving Massachusetts a democratic government and of sending a man to Washington who would fight until the bitter end for freedom—and, said Wilson, Sumner was that man. Day after day the contest continued until, after twenty six ballots were taken, 25 of them deadlocked, Sumner was finally elected by *one* vote. Thus the Free Soilers were given in Washington a man who, not only a great orator, was aggressively against slavery. Locally, perhaps the union was even more important—it smashed the firm grip of the Cotton Whigs, liberalized the State machinery and, last but not least, paved the way for the Republican Party to be.

Even while Cushing was fighting so strenuously, the anti-slavery forces of Massachusetts were shaken and infuriated by the Shadrach Fugitive Slave Case. On February 15th, right in Boston where slaves thought they were safe, if anywhere, a slave catcher apprehended a slave, one Shadrach, and hauled him before the United States Commissioner George T. Curtis. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., rushed to the defense of the slave but even while he was preparing his arguments, Boston abolitionists took the law into their hands and rescued the negro. This made the Sumner issue clear. Of course, Boston had committed a breach of law and order but the Shadrach affair was only a shadow compared to the Sims Case. Early in

April, a negro waiter in a Boston hotel, Thomas Sims was arrested by another slave catcher and hauled into the Federal Courts. This time the law took no chances with a rescue and, after eight days of legal battling, Sims was sent south under armed guard. Massachusetts sentiment had been outraged. Sumner was elected Senator and the line was drawn for the final conflict over slavery and ultimately preservation of the Union.

This battle line appeared in the State election of 1852. It was the desperate Whigs against the Democrats and the Free Soilers. The campaign was bitter; Whigs entrenched socially used all the ostracism they could command. But, although the largest vote of the State up to that time was drawn to the polls, the union of Democrats and Free Soilers triumphed again—the Whigs lost control by just three percent of the votes—the union of the parties polling 53 percent of the total of 137,000 ballots. Thus Boutwell was again made governor by the lack of a Whig control of the General Court.

Flushed with success, the union party sought to smash the Whigs permanently by attacking them in their vulnerable point, the system of electing members of the General Court which gave Whig Boston a larger number of votes than anti-Whig country and small town sections received. The only way to accomplish a change in this election proportionment was by means of a Constitutional Convention. Accordingly, the union party put through an order for such a Convention in 1853. In the Convention, the union party was in the majority and so put through the changes they desired. The work of the convention was really remarkable in its grasp of principles and in its skillful weaving of those principles into a working system of a more popular and more representative government. Cheered by the excellence of the new constitution, the Democrats and Free Soilers were confident of ratification by the people. However, as recorded in the chapter concerned with the business, the people failed to ratify the document.

The defeat of the Constitution entailed the downfall of the union of Democrats and Free Soilers. Cotton Whiggery was triumphant and conservatism returned to Beacon Hill with a blaring of trumpets.

However, alas for the triumph of the Whigs, the clouds of war were already forming and the drama was soon to be played on vaster issues than control of Massachusetts. The first cloud appeared with the Kansas Nebraska bill of 1854. This, provided that, despite the Missouri Compromise, the great territory of Kansas and Nebraska should be slave or free as votes of the settlers might determine. This meant that all the South had to do to extend its slave empire was

to colonize the territory, a necessary move indeed for slavery must have constantly new soil to exploit. Massachusetts caught its breath in astonishment and then rose up on its hind legs in wrath. Whiggery was forgotten—the North had been betrayed. From a deflated balloon, Abolitionism and the Free Soil Party overnight soared to majestic heights. As if the fever was not already hot enough in Boston, along came the Burns Fugitive Slave Case in May, 1854. To keep law and order, the militia was called out, a guard was killed and Boston threatened to pull the stones of the Federal Court apart. Finally, when Burns was taken South, more than a thousand soldiers were needed to reinforce the United States Marshal's guard over 124 desperadoes, plus the entire Boston police force and a score of companies of the Massachusetts militia.

Thus, at last, it was clear to the Whigs that politics had ceased to be a business of parties; it was now national, the North against the South. The colonization of Kansas by the New England Emigrant Aid Company was only one of several activities which united men only a short time before deadly political foes.

Politics still went on however, not even war can stop that form of activity and, the lines of new alliances were busily being formed on Beacon Hill. It was hoped that the Free Soilers would unite with the Whigs and for a time the union was seriously considered but naturally, as oil and water cannot mix, for long, this ambitious adjustment withered. Democrats also milled about, discredited as were the Free Soilers. Really, party politics were in a sorry muddle. It was an opportunity for a great leader to make his way—but there were no such leaders in Boston at the time.

Instead, the empty chair of power went not to a man but to a party, a new party, a dangerous party. This party is known as the Know Nothings or the American Party. Outwardly, this group stood for America for Americans; actually it based its strength upon the very general fear which, in Massachusetts at least, was widely entertaining over two things, each related closely. These two things were the tidal wave of Irish immigration and the consequent growth of Roman Catholic citizens. All that had gone wrong in the State for a decade was laid at the doors of the Irish and the Catholic—practically the same individuals in Boston.

The Know Nothing leaders, convinced that the danger was real, believed that the enemies of the Commonwealth were working secretly against the State. This belief was indeed necessary, since the alleged rascals did nothing openly. That they were not in fact doing any-

thing, secretly or openly, did not interest the leaders of the Know Nothings. So, to meet fire with fire, they determined to keep their organization secret too and to spring it in full flower upon the astonished Pope when it was too late for such a clever leader to oppose them. Thus, to patriotism was added the lure of the secret society, always a very potent source of interest.

To fear of the Pope, the astute Know Nothing pilots bracketed the slave-ridden South and thus presented Massachusetts patriots with a two headed monster, hungry with both mouths. Henry Wilson, who is said to have believed that politics owed him a living, was enticed in as a leader and put up secretly for Senator. Swiftly a wide-flung organization was built up and, when at last the election laws made it necessary for the Know Nothing candidates to be openly named, the Democrats and the Whigs saw nothing to be alarmed about for, they thought, after all, it was only the Free Soilers of old parading around in disguise.

But when the results of 1854's election day were published, were both old parties' faces red! The Know Nothings had swept its entire State ticket into office; all the members of Congress and most of the General Court likewise were of the American Party. And Wilson was Senator!

The vote of the State tells the story of the amazing victory: the Whigs, 27,000 votes, the Democrats, 13,700, the Free Soilers, 6,400 and the Know Nothings, 81,500!

Fundamentally, this upset was neither the fruit of anti-slavery emotion or of religious hatred. Of course, there was plenty of both in circulation. What the vote really indicated was the failure of either Whigs or Democrats to supply the voters of the Commonwealth with the leadership desired.

It is one of the mysteries of the period why Henry Wilson did not supply that leadership. Previous to being elevated by the bigotry and the bewilderment of the Know Nothings, he had been a mere politician, content to guess how the tide of public opinion was running and to try to ride it into a job. Once the man reached Washington, however, he changed from a politician into the statesman, a change many senators like to think they accomplish, a change so few of them do really work out. Wilson did. A founder of the Republican Party, he served long and honorably in Washington, a distinguished Senator from Massachusetts, resigning only to become vice-president of the United States.

Back to Boston. When the Know Nothings sent Wilson to Washington, the triumphant and, mostly inexperienced, members of

the General Court tried to turn their pledges into fact by beating the devil about the bush. Really a leaderless assembly, the Great and General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, proceeded to thrash the Pope and the South. Naturally, the Catholic agitation amounted to little save to embarrass such perfectly good citizens as happened to be of the Catholic faith. This chapter is to be regretted but it is comforting to know that it could have been much worse. Really, what stands out of this anti-Catholic agitation in 1855 was the expense account of one member of an investigating committee, named Hiss. One item of Hiss' account was the hotel bill of "a Lady of Easy Virtue"—as they were called in those grandiloquent days.

In the matter of anti-slavery activity, however, the Know Nothings were able to cause more trouble. Henry J. Gardner, Governor, a Whig of Boston's ultra-ultra, was a sensible man but his veto power was over-ridden whenever he attempted to restrain the too wild enthusiasm of the Know Nothing General Court. The aim of the party was to insult the South if nothing else could be accomplished. The readiest means of this was through the Fugitive Slave Law. Accordingly, the General Court worked to make this Law ineffective in Massachusetts, by providing that Massachusetts' officers could not aid in the arrest or return of a slave within the Commonwealth and also by providing that no United States Commissioner in Massachusetts under the Fugitive Slave Law could hold any office for the Commonwealth. This last was a direct attack upon Edward Loring, the United States Commissioner who acted in the Burns case. Loring was also Judge of the Massachusetts Probate Court. The General Court could not remove Loring but the South resented the insult and the Know Nothing General Court was delighted. Also, the same General Court permitted the abolitionists free rein in propagandizing against slavery. Garrison was allowed to actually burn in public the Fugitive Slave Law and the United States Constitution. Was the South angry!

The next election, 1855 the Know Nothings triumphed for the second time. The new Republican Party had not yet reached adult stature but it was with the election of Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts, as speaker of the National House of Representatives, that the new party won its first victory of importance. Meanwhile, Sumner was busy working upon the Senate with his Crime of Kansas speech and in Kansas actually, blood began to be spilled as the North and South lined up to fight for the new territory.

Sumner in Washington, New England emigrants in Kansas, in

1856,—they may not perhaps be said to have started the Civil War but they did cause the Republican Party to suddenly grow into manhood. Back in Boston, the Republican party did not dare try its wings too soon, Boston is conservative even in its radicalism, and Gardner was given a third term. However, Massachusetts did give the Republican candidate for President, Fremont, 102,000 votes out of the 170,000 cast.

The 1857 election, however, put the Republicans into power in the State. Nathaniel P. Banks, fresh from triumphs in Washington, was made governor and the new party had a working control of the General Court. Naturally, while the thunder and lightning of the approaching storm grew ever louder, the radicals of the party, aided by the remnants of Know Nothingism, plumped for the removal of Judge Loring. In itself the subsequent Legislative battle was not important. But, out of the debates did come something very important—a new leader for the Commonwealth. In defense of Loring, appeared Caleb Cushing, Newburyport's favorite son. An able orator and an astute debater, he was greatly feared by the lesser lights of the General Court. He deftly tied them into knots whenever they ventured to oppose him.

In an attack on Loring, a stranger stepped onto the floor of the House an almost unknown lawyer, John A. Andrew of Boston, an utter babe in politics; or so Cushing thought. Quietly, Andrew allowed Cushing to oppose the movements of Loring's foes to oust the Judge from office. And then, at the strategic moment, Andrew turned on the steam and soundly defeated the giant Cushing. This single triumph established Andrew as the outstanding Republican in Massachusetts. Fame is like that—sometimes.

Banks was still the titular leader of the Republicans; he was elected Governor again and again until 1861. Andrew contented himself with advancing the interests of the Republican party in Massachusetts and putting the weight of the Commonwealth against the pressure coming upon Washington from the South.

It was John Brown that gave Andrew his final elevation to actual leadership of Republicans in Massachusetts—just as it was a police strike that sent Calvin Coolidge to the Presidency, following Harding's death.

John Brown's raid on Harpers Ferry in 1859, his arrest and execution, stirred North and South more deeply than anything else had done. It was bloody drama, raw, stark and compelling; its significance could not be questioned.

Opinion, however, of this significance waited for a few phrases

to crystalize it. Andrew supplied the phrases. At a meeting held in Boston to raise funds for the Brown family, Andrew was presiding officer. In speaking, he said, “. . . not now to consider . . . whether the enterprise of John Brown and his associates in Virginia was wise or foolish, right or wrong; I know only that, whether the enterprise itself was one or the other, John Brown himself was right.” John Brown himself was right! Those five words were what the North needed and they were the five words that put Andrew into nomination for the Republican candidacy for Governor in the Fall of 1860.

The national campaign of 1860 needs no telling here. Andrew helped to nominate Lincoln as head of the Massachusetts delegation and then he came home to lead the campaign in Massachusetts for Lincoln and for himself.

Four parties were in the Massachusetts contest. There was the Republican slate headed by Lincoln and Andrew. Opposed were the Democrats, themselves divided. One group, known as the Breckinridge Democrats by the name of their leader Breckinridge, put up Ben Butler as their candidate for Governor. The rest of the Democrats, self-styled Northern Democrats, to make clear the Southern sympathies of the Breckinridge Democrats, headed themselves with Douglas for president and Beach for governor. The fourth party was known as the Constitutional Union party, mostly die-hard Whigs, who campaigned on the platform of a modified Federalism. Edward Everett was the party's candidate for vice-president, (Bell stood for president) and Amos A. Lawrence was the choice for governor.

The election was fought in Massachusetts not over Lincoln—there was never any doubt in the majority of Massachusetts' minds that Lincoln was the man—but over Andrew. The upstart Andrew was the rallying point for both enthusiastic support and violent hatred. To many minds, the man Andrew seemed even more dangerous as a disruptive force (war was still out of the picture then) than Lincoln appeared to be. These minds, hoping that the South could be persuaded not to secede, thought that if Andrew could be defeated, the South would be convinced that it could still work out its problems within the Union. On the other hand, the anti-slavery enthusiasm, the Free Soilers, the Know Nothings and all the reformers of the Commonwealth looked upon Andrew as their idol. Had not the man said that “John Brown himself was right”? Thus, all the other candidates, Beach, Lawrence and Butler, urged the forces of conservatism to keep Andrew out of office. But their efforts were wasted.

Andrew received 104,000 votes, only 2,000 less than Lincoln did. Beach received 35,000 votes, Lawrence 24,000 and Butler, 6,000.

Andrew took office with Massachusetts telling the world that it did not approve of slavery, that John Brown himself was right. But, what of the Union itself? That is the question the Civil War answered.

CHAPTER XXXVII

Western Massachusetts—Colonial Days to the Civil War

While for practical purposes, the western counties of Massachusetts are as integral a portion of the Commonwealth as is Suffolk County, shadowed by the dome of the State House, it was not until after the unifying effect of several forces, which culminated at about the time of the Civil War, that the section west of the Connecticut River was very closely identified with the rest of the State. Indeed, Shays' Rebellion was but a single example, dramatic though it was, of the differences of political and economic ideas between the counties centering their interests in Boston and the western third of the State. It is not sufficient to state that the difference was chiefly financial. It was such to a large degree, doubtless—for the maritime interests which controlled the Bay State from the very beginning were naturally persuaded of different social objectives from the purely agricultural western section. But there was also the very real difference in the people themselves. In no small part, the western counties were settled by families which overflowed from eastern Massachusetts and from Connecticut and the overflow, while conditioned doubtless by such economic drives as the imperative need of new land, was also occasioned by differences in opinion and religion which made the migrating families uncomfortable in their eastern homes and caused them to seek a greater measure of freedom to the west. Doubtless the preoccupation of the western counties with agriculture did widen and maintain the social breach with the East but the schism had its origin not so much in this condition as in the fundamental social differentiation—a differentiation which is even now apparent to a vastly greater degree in the perennial quarrels between the financially powerful Northeast, the grain-growing Middle West, and the still youthful Far West.

While this difference within the State can be made to include fully half of the Commonwealth, drawing the line even as far east as Worcester, in reality Worcester County was more of a buffer region

between the east and the west and very early in its history succumbed to the influence of the east and forswore the western counties.

Probably the Connecticut River provides an adequate line of division, being not only a natural geographical boundary but also setting off the group of counties who have had a very different history from that of the eastern three quarters of the State—that is, down to about the Civil War era when the development of transportation and the growth of industry, together with the decimation of the region by the exodus to the West, unified the area with the rest of the Commonwealth by submerging its special interests in the flood-tide of the State's tremendous development. Thus, Old Hampshire County is really the area which deserves to be distinguished as Western Massachusetts. Although now divided into four counties (Berkshire, 1761; Franklin, 1811; and Hampden, 1811-12) the area is still a geographical entity.

Indeed, if the vastly different value of the sea coast can be ruled out of the picture, this Western Massachusetts is not only a single unity but the most beautiful section of the Commonwealth. It has its own historian, Josiah Gilbert Holland who, describes it ideally:

“Among the hills of Northern New Hampshire, and the mountains on the southern border of Canada, the Quonektakut (Connecticut) River has its source, forming for a long distance the boundary between Vermont and New Hampshire. It sweeps through the western portion of Massachusetts and, passing through the State to which it has given its name, discharges its waters into the sea. Another natural feature, the Green Mountain Range, originates in the same northern latitude and, giving its name to Vermont, traverses that State and, rolling across Massachusetts still further west, passes into Connecticut and loses itself upon the seaward looking plains.

“In their passage through Massachusetts, the river and the mountain range have imparted the grandeur and beauty that characterize its surface. Fertile and beautiful meadows spread out on either hand until they meet the eastern and western slopes that gather tribute for the seabound stream. This river, these meadows, these inward looking slopes, and these tributary streams have determined the character of the industry which has appropriated them to the uses of human life. There is hardly a farm or workshop, a dwelling or a church, a road or a mill, but it is connected in some way with the Connecticut River. Thus also has the Green Mountain Range given its character to Berkshire and shaped there also the plastic forms of industry. The streams that gather on the mountain sides turn the wheels of lonely or clustered manufactures, herds and flocks feed upon the sweet grasses that grow among the rocks and upon the smoother slopes, while many a favored home lot nestles down upon a broad intervale watered by a stream that

has found an open path, and shut out from the bleak winds by the elevations that rise on every side.

"This beautiful realm won from a wilderness by toil has had an interesting history. The links of association that bind the present population to the past are strong. Multitudes who now till the soil of the eastern valley, or pursue the rougher husbandry of the western hills, bear the names and the blood of the first settlers; while the streams, hills, and meadows from the Housatonic to the Connecticut, and from the Hoosac to the Taconic are still called by names first shaped by the Indian tongue. This region, beautiful in natural history, varied in its industry and inhabited by the descendants of the noblest men that ever founded a nation, must have a glorious destiny."

While no one can quarrel with this poetical description, the final statement may be questioned in that, save for the regions on the main highways, the railroads and the waterways, Western Massachusetts has declined somewhat in the past few generations. Mr. Walter P. Eaton, former dramatic critic of New York and now an essayist celebrating the beauty of his new home in the Berkshire Hills, has much to say and finds even more to lament in the recession of the wave of agriculture from his hills. He finds tree-grown cellar holes and tottering chimney stacks everywhere about the remoter areas and, while the still-blooming lilacs in the dooryards of the abandoned farms affords him pleasure, he mourns the passing of the sturdy farmers who built their white dwellings and cleared their fields in the days before the railroads and the centralization of industry drew away the children of the homesteaders.

While Springfield and Pittsfield and Greenfield, to name but three of the leading towns of Western Massachusetts, have their foundations of prosperity and future development as firmly fixed as Boston itself, the hill towns of the section are not at present as prosperous as in the days when Holland wrote. The beauty of the hill tops remains; the people have descended to the valleys for softer livings. If, as Mr. Henry Ford is quoted as predicting, a decentralization of industry will feature the coming decades, then perhaps the multitudinous streams of the Berkshires will again be harnessed and the hill farms be more than luxurious summer homes for wealthy Boston and New York families—for the region is ideally adapted to be the site of such a new era as Mr. Ford predicts, an era when workmen will live not in city slums but in elmed villages and on sunny farms, an era when every village will have its factory, every stream be harnessed, every farm have its shop and the fortunate Utopians divide their working hours between the bench and the fields.

EARLY SETTLEMENT

The first comers into Western Massachusetts were, of course, the traders, who traveled up the Connecticut seeking furs from the Indians. They were followed, well into the middle of the seventeenth century, by the bolder settlers who sought greater opportunities than the comparative congestion of the area about Boston and Plymouth afforded. Soon these were followed by the migration of families and disaffected congregations who moved in a body from their old homes to new pastures. Such were the Baptists, who left the town of Framingham and founded New Framingham—now Lanesboro. The first immigrants into the Bay Colony and the Province were encouraged to settle in the west, not only to develop it and afford a bulwark against the Indians but also to prevent them from upsetting economic and political balances in the east. For example, Scotch-Irish newcomers were shepherded west to establish Colrain and Pelham. And antagonistic religious sects found the area hospitable, as well. Quakers, though welcome in Rhode Island, comparatively, found themselves crowded, and went into the northern Berkshire Hills to found Cheshire. The odd Shaker sect established Hancock and Tyringham.

However, probably the solid settlement of the area originated in Connecticut. The placid waters of the River offered an easy road up from that future state right into the Massachusetts Hills and newcomers, finding no room in Connecticut, naturally kept on up-stream; many of them indeed spilling still further north into New Hampshire and Vermont. The Revolutionary War greatly stimulated the settlement of the hills and this heavy development continued until about 1800, when the opening of the fertile farm lands of Ohio and the Near West diverted the stream, in fact, causing a recession in the Berkshires themselves. For example, Middlefield in 1780, at the close of the Revolution, listed about thirty families. By 1790, there were two hundred and fifty families settled in the town. But, by 1820, there were not more than seventy five families left—nearly two hundred having moved to the West.

This tide of settlement can be clearly traced in the names selected for the several towns. The first towns were occupied by Englishmen who, homesick, gave their new homes the same name as the old—witness Hadley, Sunderland, Tyringham, Sheffield and Stockbridge. Then, about 1750, when differences with England began to arise and new settlers were of Boston and New London and Hartford, rather than Old England, towns were given names of Britishers who supported the Colonial cause in Parliament—witness, Pittsfield, Great

Barrington, Lenox and Richmond. And, when the Revolution came along, the new settlers were no longer Englishmen but Americans and the new towns were named in honor of American patriots—witness Washington, Lee, Adams, Hancock and Otis.

The political and economic basis of the establishment of the towns was legally the same as for the rest of the future Commonwealth—a town system which apparently developed in Massachusetts. The



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settlers formed town government with self-elected officers and operated under authority from the General Court.

But titles to land held by the settlers themselves were not always obtained directly from the State but from a group of what would nowadays be called developers or promoters; and were then known as proprietors.

These proprietors, either an individual or a company, purchased the land from the Colony or from the persons who had gained title from the original owner of the grant. These purchase prices were, of course, of infinitesimal amounts compared to the real value of the land.

The proprietors, in some cases, were not interested in the land for itself; they were simply engaged in a business venture. They made their profit by selling their "propriety" to men who actually wanted to live on the soil. The profit to the proprietors lay in the difference between what they paid for the town-area and what they could sell it to folks who wanted to settle there.

Of course, in some cases, settlers did obtain grants of land from the Colony or Province in return for promises to settle and develop the area. In effect they were given the land if they fulfilled certain conditions. These conditions included: the requirement that 60 families should be settled in each town within about five years, that streets must be laid out, that certain areas be set aside for the use of the minister and the school; that each of the sixty settlers should build a house and bring five acres into cultivation within the five years, that a meeting house be erected within one year and a Protestant minister hired at a regulated and stipulated salary, and that, in the center of the town, a common be set aside of at least eight acres for common purposes. If the settlers did not comply with these requirements their grant could be voided. These rules were strictly enforced by the Colony and the Province but ceased sharply with the Revolutionary War. This fact may be taken to afford some degree of proof to some of the scandal current at the time in Western Massachusetts to the effect that the General Court was eternally seeking to sell the settlers out to land speculators by imposing impossible conditions for maintaining the town grants.

The business of incorporating the newly settled towns is succinctly pictured in Chapter 73, Volume Ten, of the Acts and Resolves, Province of Massachusetts Bay for the year 1720:

"... the Report of the Settlement of Rutland.

"We The Subscribers of the Committee for Settling the Town of Rutland, Considering the Grant of the said Town made by the Honbl General Court, tho't it became us humbly to represent to this Great & Honbl Court our complying with & fulfilling, the Directions and Conditions of the said Grant, Which were that within seven years time, Sixty Families be settled thereon, & sufficient Land reserved for a Gospel Ministry & School &c, Accordingly Sixty Dwelling Houses are erected & Sixty Families Dwelling in them, . . . & a convenient Ministry Lot & School are assigned, Wch that this Honbl Court might be duly ascertain'd of, We prevail'd with three of the worthy Members of this Honbl Court, viz. John Chandler & Francis Fulham Esqrs & Mr Joseph Wilder to come upon the Place & observe the same, Wch we humbly presume are ready to confirm this our report, And we crave

further leave to add, That the proprietors of said Township have expended several hundred Pounds in Erecting a Meeting House, Cutting & Making of Roads to the said Town passable, In getting & Maintaining a Learned Orthodox Minister, & Bringing forward Settlements thereon, Wch we hope, If Divine Providence continue to smile upon us, Will be a good & serviceable town in this His Majesty's Province.

"Estes Hatch, Thomas Smith, Jacob Stephens,
Thomas How, Stephen Minot.

"We the subscribers testify to the Truth of the aforewritten Report, As to the Number & Houses & names of the Heads of them, Having visited & seen each Family as Setled upon the spot, the Thirteenth & Fourteenth days of October, 1720, We also certify that we were shown a Lot for the Ministry & another for the School, Each containing Thirty Acres (Being the same in Quantity and as good in Quality as the rest of the Lotts). The Rights of which are equal with the other Lotts, both very conveniently laid being near the Meeting House, There is also Land left for a Green containing twelve Acres or upwards, on which stand the Meeting House very commodious, The Dimensions whereof, were fifty feet long, forty feet wide & twenty feet Stud.

"John Chandler, Francis Fulham, Joseph Wilder."

DEVELOPMENT 1800-1860

Settled by the same hardy stock as the rest of the Commonwealth, leavened by a selection of the more liberal and liberty-loving elements of that stock, and refined by the departure of "softer strains leaving for the more fertile lands of the Near West," Western Massachusetts thus shortly after 1800 assumed a definite character in its social and political standards. Probably the most striking evidence of this character was the very different spirit of religious toleration evidenced among the hills. While the State Constitution enforced the continuance of the Established Congregational Church, particularly by means of the church tax, the hill towns, instead of supporting the system, as most of the seaboard towns did, exhibited a generous spirit of interdenominational cooperation and sympathy. The Baptists were the first to profit by this liberality of the orthodox church in the western third, and were followed somewhat later by the Methodists.

The manner in which the Baptists flourished under this comparative measure of toleration is displayed by the fact that the celebrated "Haystack prayer meeting" was held in Williamstown in 1806. While it is true that out of this meeting developed the Congregational body,

the American Board of Foreign Missions, it was also the nucleus of the American Baptist Missionary Union.

The toleration was also shown by the fact that many of the hill towns supported flourishing union churches which, while nominally the Orthodox Congregational, welcomed also Baptists, Methodists and Episcopalians. Down through the years, like a fragrant memory, comes the story of the Christmas Eve Party given in Lenox in 1792 by Azariah Eggleston. Eggleston was an Episcopalian but, to his party, he invited not only friends of his own sect but also Congregational neighbors. Together, the townsfolk ate and drank in the brightly decorated room, with two Orthodox Congregational ministers, the Reverend Daniel Burnham and the Reverend Samuel Shepherd eating meat, breaking bread and drinking wine with Episcopalians. This is all the more remarkable in that the Episcopalians at the time labored under a double disadvantage; in addition to their religious differences, the denomination was blighted by its unquestioned Loyalist sympathy during the late Revolution.

But the people of the hill were not only neighborly to other Protestant sects, than the official Congregationalism, but did not persecute and, long before the State as a whole, welcomed other sects, as the Shakers, the Quakers and the Roman Catholics.

The hill towns were also hospitable to various fraternal orders and patriotic societies. The Washington Benevolent Society, for example, a conservative organization formed in New York in 1806, to preserve to the nation the ideals of democracy as exemplified by George Washington, had its first branch in the country formed in Pittsfield in 1811. The Masonic fraternity also flourished in the hill towns, several strong lodges being chartered and organized before 1800.

As might be expected, this self-sufficient society was not long in producing its great men. Out of a long list of names, not merely locally distinguished but nationally famous, such men as William Cullen Bryant, Caleb Strong, Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Bowles, three other men may be selected as typical examples of the flowering of the hill stock.

There was Elkanah Watson. This gentleman, friend of Washington and Franklin, was convinced that the agricultural practices of the hill towns were subject to improvement. In 1806-07, he accordingly established a demonstration farm in Pittsfield and, for about ten years, showed the farmers "modern" principles of agriculture, horticulture, stock breeding, dairying and allied concerns. Two accomplishments of his are particularly noteworthy: he founded the Berkshire Agricultural Society and he introduced into America the first Merino

sheep. From his work with these sheep, and the weaving of their wool into sample fabrics, it may be considered that he encouraged, if he did not originate, the American woolen industry.

There was Amos Eaton, Williams College, class of 1799, who taught geology and botany in that northwestern institution, as well as lecturing throughout Massachusetts, Connecticut and New York. He was a happy teacher, in that he had the genius of not only instructing his students in a specific subject, but of stimulating their entire intellectual life—as, for example, Professor Charles Townsend Cope-land of modern Harvard. Eaton is remembered today for two reasons; first, the students, whose lives he kindled into accomplishment, among whom was Mary Lyon, who founded Mt. Holyoke Female Seminary; and second, the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute at Troy, N. Y.—a college founded by Eaton with funds given by one of his pupils, Stephen Van Rensselaer. However, the tale of how his textbook, *Manual of Botany*, was published in 1817, may perhaps survive the longest. This book, one of the first American botanies, is certain proof of Eaton's genius as a teacher. Imagine any college instructor today so moving his students that they voluntarily subscribed the funds with which their instructor's book might be published. That was precisely what Eaton's students at Williams did! They petitioned the college authorities for permission to publish Eaton's lectures on botany and found the money necessary for the purpose.

And there is Dr. Henry Childs. In those days the medical profession may not have been as well educated as State requirements necessitate today but an education in the profession was even more vitally necessary. Doctors were few and far between, especially in Western Massachusetts. So, Dr. Childs, with the aid of other men, in 1823 opened the Berkshire Medical Institute in Pittsfield and, during the fifty four years of the institution's career, supplied Western Massachusetts with a wealth of as able a succession of physicians as any section was blessed with.

With agriculture, to say the least, somewhat handicapped by the lack of level ground, and the many streams tumbling through the hills offering an abundance of power, it was only natural that the handicrafts of the farm should have been developed at a very early period into manufacturing establishments. Well before 1820, many such factories were in full operation, supplying cloth, both cotton and woolen, lumber, nails, tanned skins and flour and corn meal not only to the neighborhood but also to as much adjacent territory as the limited transportation agencies of the times could move economically.

The weaving of fabrics was one of the leading industries. Paper manufacturing was a second outstanding business and there were many other activities, such as the glass factories at Lenox and Cheshire, the furniture factory in Erving, the charcoal plant in Becket, the textile printing factory in North Adams, the boot and shoe factories in North Adams, the tanneries in Montague, South Adams and Becket, the heavy machine and boiler factories in Pittsfield, the carriage factory in Springfield, the whip factories in Westfield, the arms and ammunition establishment in Chicopee, the United States Arsenal in Springfield, the carriage plant in Stockbridge, the tool factory in Greenfield, the iron foundry in Springfield, the leather works in Sandisfield, the tool and tableware plant in Chicopee, the machine factory at Shelburne Falls—and so on through a long list of manufactures which bear eloquent testimony not only to the energy and industry of the people but to the innate mechanical and inventive genius of the Yankee.

In fact, the Berkshire County hill towns within their narrow compass contained all the elements, necessities and opportunities for that development of human character—the Yankee. Here was a rugged environment peopled by folk who were pre-eminently industrious, restless, ambitious, alert by nature and patriotic, tolerant and religious by training and habit. A common struggle for liberty and livelihood united them into a genuine commonwealth which, when peace and a measure of economic independence were finally won, enabled them to suddenly develop their peculiar genius.

That this genius was expressed in practical matters may be because it was an inborn psychological bent or it may have been originated by the isolation of their environment, walled off from the rest of the world by mountains, mountains crossed by roads so steep and difficult that even today's high-power automotive vehicles must needs have new roads of easier gradients, if of longer mileage, constructed.

With a need and thus a market for just about every article known existing, the farmer's kitchen workshop soon was enlarged into the village factory and the town industrial establishment but the inventive genius which had made the farmer, as such, a blacksmith, chandler, mason, carpenter, machinist, tool-maker and whatever, was continued and enlarged, as with greater opportunity the men accomplished greater things.

At first, the local environment absorbed the production of the small industries but, as they developed, outside markets were necessitated and trade developed, not only domestic but also foreign. Sail cloth from Berkshire County looms caught the winds on the seven seas and the remote regions of the world echoed to the shots fired from guns machined in Springfield.

From this industrial development there grew the need of better transportation. The Connecticut was barely navigable in sections; the other streams not at all. One of the first progressions made was thus naturally the improvement of the river by a series of canals around the several rapids and falls which barred navigation. The ditch around the falls at South Hadley was the first canal in America. It was built by Benjamin Prescott about 1793. This was followed by other canals and accompanying series of locks and dams so that, eventually, the river became navigable as far north as Greenfield to all boats and rafts not more than sixty feet over-all and not more than twenty feet wide.

Although the canal idea thus flourished, the most ambitious project of all—that of a canal from the Hudson River near Albany to Boston—failed to be more than a dream. This canal, by leveling the mountain wall which barred Boston from the wealth of the West and enabled New York to thrive at the expense of the Puritan City, entailed the tremendous job of digging through the mountains near the site of the present Hoosac Tunnel. However, it is not too much to suppose that even this task might have been accomplished had not the railroad rendered it unnecessary.

Simultaneously with the development of canals, was the growth of roads. To feed the traffic on the Connecticut, to join the hill towns with Worcester and Boston, as well as to make life itself possible away from the river, roads were vitally necessary. With manufacturing growing, capital was available and thus roads were not long in developing. In fact, there were more roads in that section a hundred years ago than there are today; for miles upon miles through today's forest, wanderers can trace the route of the old roads, long since forgotten by map-makers, only by the different character of the trees and plants growing upon them.

Incentive to building roads was given by the bestowal of franchises to bridge-building and turnpike companies who secured a profit by charging tolls—as for example, three cents for each pedestrian; fifteen cents for riders on horseback and for two wheeled vehicles, and thirty cents for each four-wheeled vehicle. Some of the franchises provided that when the company should have recovered its investment from these tolls, plus a profit of ten or fifteen percent, the road or bridge would revert to the State and thereafter be open to all and maintained at public charge.

A few of the bridges and roads were financed by other means, most spectacular of which was a lottery duly authorized by the General Court. There was no social stigma attached to the lottery in the early

nineteenth century and before—Harvard had some of its buildings financed by public lottery and there were several churches built by the same means.

One of the first turnpikes was that from Charlemont over the hills to Adams. The company, known as the Second Massachusetts Turnpike Corporation was chartered in 1797 by Jesse King, Asaph White and others. In 1799 another turnpike company was given the right to put a toll road from Amherst east and south through Worcester to join the great Boston-New York Post Road. One of the first bridge companies was chartered in 1803 by George Bliss and others for the purpose of flinging a bridge across the Connecticut between Springfield and West Springfield.

With these roads laid down, traffic east and west and north and south became not only easier but faster and more rapid as stage coach lines were introduced. One of the first stage coach proprietors was John Clapp of Pittsfield who ran several trunk lines east and west. Between Boston and Albany two regular stage lines competed for business and a third major line ran from Hartford up along the Connecticut into New Hampshire. These coaches were not make-shift carriages; they were grand affairs, all gleaming enamel and polished brass and conducted with much of the traditional pomp and circumstance of the coaches in Old England: the blasts of the stage coach horn heralded the approach of the daily stage to each village and it whirled away again to the mellow notes of the old coaching calls.

Shortly after 1825, the smoke of the railroad engine marked the doom of the stage-coach as, in 1827, a State Commission was appointed to consider the best routes through the Berkshire Hills for a railroad between Boston and Albany. Several routes were selected and, in 1829, it was determined that the one through Worcester, Westfield and Pittsfield was the best in that it would be the cheapest to construct and would serve the largest number of towns and industries. It was seriously advised, however, that instead of steam, horses be used to supply the motive power.

At first, proposals were made that the State not only approve the railroad but also finance it and maintain it on the ground that the railroad was a public service and should thus remain in public hands to the end that the public who used the road and paid for it should have and enjoy the resulting profits. However, the General Court thought otherwise.

In 1833, the Court gave the Boston and Worcester railroad its incorporation papers and, in 1836, the Western Railroad Corporation was formed to build a road from Worcester to New York State.

Work was begun in 1837 and by as early as 1839, trains were operated as far west as Springfield. Beyond that point, however, the increasing engineering difficulties slowed down the progress of construction, but nothing could long check the development of the railroad and by 1850 the entire area was served by not the single road but by fifteen separate roads.

Thus the Berkshire Hills were opened, not only to give exit to the products of the hill factories but also to allow the influx of raw materials. The towns on the railroads prospered and grew steadily through the years to their present estate, but the receding tide of population ebbed away from the towns back from the railroads, farms were deserted and the old roads left to grass and then to the forest. The town of Lenox, for example, is known today not for its farms and its industries so much as for its summer homes; it is one of the several towns which attract those wealthy folk of Boston and New York who do not find pleasure in salty Newport.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The Whaling Epic

Commonly, every year or so, the newspapers carry stories concerned with the distress of certain New England towns so unfortunate as to be selected as the site of the suicide of a school of "black-fish" that, swimming too near shore, are stranded and die when the tide goes out. It is a serious matter, for the towns are put to considerable expense speedily to rid themselves of the "fish" as, if left to the processes of Nature, the stench would rapidly cause the town to become uninhabited by even the sturdiest citizens.

Far different was the picture in the early days of the colony. Then the advent of a school of "black-fish" was hailed with delight. Instead of waiting for chance to strand the little whales, every able bodied citizen would leap into whatever he could find to support his weight and dash out in chase of the school, in a wild essay to get to seaward of the "fish" and so force them ashore.

If the screaming and splashing was successful and the school stranded, then would follow a carnival of fierce yellow fires as the fish were sliced into bits, their blubber cut up and "tried out" in great black iron pots over flames fed by crisped chunks of blubber skimmed from the smoking pots after the oil had been extracted. Bottles, kegs, anything that would hold the oil, was pressed into service and, when the madness was over, the work completed, the oil would be proudly stored away in cellar and sheds—a first-class source of illumination for years to come, as well as a staple of trade which, carried to town, could be exchanged for whatever fancy and need dictated. Instead of the citizens paying thousands of dollars to have the fish removed, the fish paid the citizens.

From this simple beginning grew the great whaling epic of Massachusetts, an epic which, starting in the very first days of the colony, flourished for more than two hundred years, became the third industry of the state and, in the days of its glory, employed thousands of men, many ships and created several fortunes, some of which endure today. The discovery of petroleum and the marketing of kerosene

as an illuminant wiped the industry out of existence, but not before it had written into history, one of the most adventurous, romantic and cruel episodes in all human experience.

Not far from New Bedford today, the industry has a most fitting memorial. At Round Hills, on the estate of the late Colonel E. H. R. Green, the *Charles W. Morgan* (probably the world's most remarkable whaling ship) has been tied up, buried in sand to her water-line safe and sound for years to come. Her decks, cabins and holds have been fully fitted out as for a whaling voyage, of which she made thirty-seven in her eighty years of adventure. Every year, thousands of visitors tread her planks, reliving the glorious days that have vanished.

Today, of course, now that modern chemistry has found new ways of making use of whale oil, the animal is again being hunted and exterminated from the seven seas. Great steam-ships, mostly Scandinavian, are following the wakes of the Massachusetts' ships of a hundred years ago, killing the "critters" with cannon and extracting their oil efficiently if not picturesquely. The steamers are floating factories; all the danger, all the thrill, all the pleasure have been removed. Thus the old whaling days have gone forever, existing only in pages of histories and novels—the best of both being our own Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*. The novel may or may not be the greatest American book, but it is positively the greatest book concerned with whales, whaling and whalers.

There is much that is glamorous about the whale. Even today, when years of peace have led the creatures to become unafraid, the sight of their great grey figures floating in the Atlantic green, will bring every passenger of a liner to the side to gaze hungrily until the spectacle slips out of sight astern. And even today, considerable mystery shrouds the life of Leviathan.

Zoologically, whales belong to the order, Cetacea. There are two chief kinds: Odontoceti, or whales with teeth; and Mysticoceti, or whales in which the teeth never develop, being replaced by baleen, or whalebone—long plates which hang from the roof of the animals' mouths and fray out into fine sieves at the ends, sieves through which the whale strains great quantities of sea-water, thus retaining the multitudes of tiny animals which form its food. To the first type of whale belong the dolphins, porpoises, grampuses, killer whales, sperm whales and narwhales. The baleen type includes the rorquals, fin-whales, hump-backs and right whales. The sulphur bottom whale, which is not uncommon today, a few hundred miles off the New England coast, is the world's greatest animal; sometimes nearly

one hundred feet long and weighing more than one hundred tons. All whales are, of course, animals, breathing through a nostril or blow-hole on the top of the head. This feature causes them to produce the familiar spout, a great cloud of "steam" which they "blow-out" whenever they come to the surface after a deep dive, emptying their lungs of the quantity of saturated air they took with them to the depths. Whales are also mammals; the young whale before birth having a heavy coat of fur and being nourished after birth with milk from true mammary glands. It is believed that the whales were originally land animals who took to the sea to escape from their enemies and, down through the ages, have become perfectly adapted to their free aquatic life.

The larger species of whales were of course not the object of the first fishermen of the Massachusetts coast. Only the very small species, the kinds popularly known even today as "black-fish," could be attacked. The colonists had neither ships, skill nor market with which to make use of the "big boys." But both skill and market quickly developed.

Every little port along shore soon learned to combine whaling with ordinary day-by-day fishing. The harpoon was invented with which to kill the "critters," but for the first one hundred years or more, whales had to be surprised in shallow water if not actually on shore, for there was no way known of handling the immense weight of the whales, otherwise than by simply cutting off the blubber where the "fish" was killed and trying it out on the spot.

The first real whaler was probably the product of Nantucket when, early in the eighteenth century, the enterprising Quakers of that island began to take up the business of whaling seriously. The first development was the building of a stout ship which, after the whales had been killed at sea, was powerful enough to tow them ashore. Soon, however, the master-stroke of genius was accomplished: someone thought of building a brick fire-place right on the deck of the ship and thus being able to "try-out" the blubber wherever the whale might be killed. This invention made whaling cease to be an occasional avocation and to become a great industry. No longer were ships confined to home waters; the world was open. Wherever whales sported, there could whaling ships go—and go they did.

Of course, the industry grew slowly. The first whalers were just ordinary fishermen of an enterprising nature. They built brick "try-works" aft of their fore-masts and sailed for the Grand Banks. If they chanced upon a whale, they stopped, killed it, tried out the oil and

then carried on catching cod or haddock or whatever until they met another whale.

But, while during the eighteenth century most New England ports merely dallied with the catching of whales, the sandy little Island of Nantucket went after the business in a serious way. Most of the original settlers were Quakers but, oddly enough in contrast with the peaceful and equable nature of the sect, the Islanders became the great developers of the bloody, sporty and harrowing business of killing whales. By 1750 odd, the fame of the Island was world-wide. From the "ice-berg dotted waters of Greenland to the burning heat of the Brazils," the tiny ships of the island pursued their thrilling but profitable business. The names of the captains are today legendary—Coffin, Macy, Folger, everyone has heard of them!

More than one hundred and fifty whalers called the port of the island home and the village of New Bedford, main-land depot of the island, at first, had another fifty odd ships. Everyone was busy and everyone was on "Easy Street."

The Revolution brought the business to a standstill: practically every ship was captured by the British or wrecked by the end of the war. What was more serious, the British, as a part of their efforts to compel Americans to emigrate to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, as many "Loyalists" did, clamped down a strangling duty on oil and whalebone, shutting the market doors tightly.

Gaunt poverty stalked Nantucket; children cried for bread in the streets; nearly two hundred widows were utterly unable to support themselves or their families. For a time, the island seemed to be stunned. Whalers, who were still vigorous, accepted the command of British and French whalers. Other Islanders went fishing and even essayed foreign trading. But the Great Depression still held the bulk of the island.

Then, finally, Massachusetts, despite the general depression which crippled the entire commonwealth, came to the aid of the island with a generous bounty, or subsidy in effect, on whale oil and whale bone and the island began to lift its head. Great Britain discovered that it needed American oil and that it was only "biting off its nose to spite its face" in shutting out Nantucket, so the heavy tariffs were lifted.

Immediately prosperity returned to the island, a prosperity which gave it the palmiest days it ever enjoyed. New ships were ordered and crew after crew sent out. Instead of limiting themselves to Atlantic hunting, the whole world came to be of interest; by 1791 six ships from the island had rounded the Horn and chased Leviathan

along the western coast of South America. It was only a step from there to the South Sea Islands and to this day some of the Islands still bear the names of whalers who discovered them.

And what was more important, Nantucket ships, instead of coming home with their oil as a matter of course, began to call at foreign ports on the way back and often arrived at Nantucket without a drop of oil but with cargoes of French and English manufactured goods as well as bags of money.

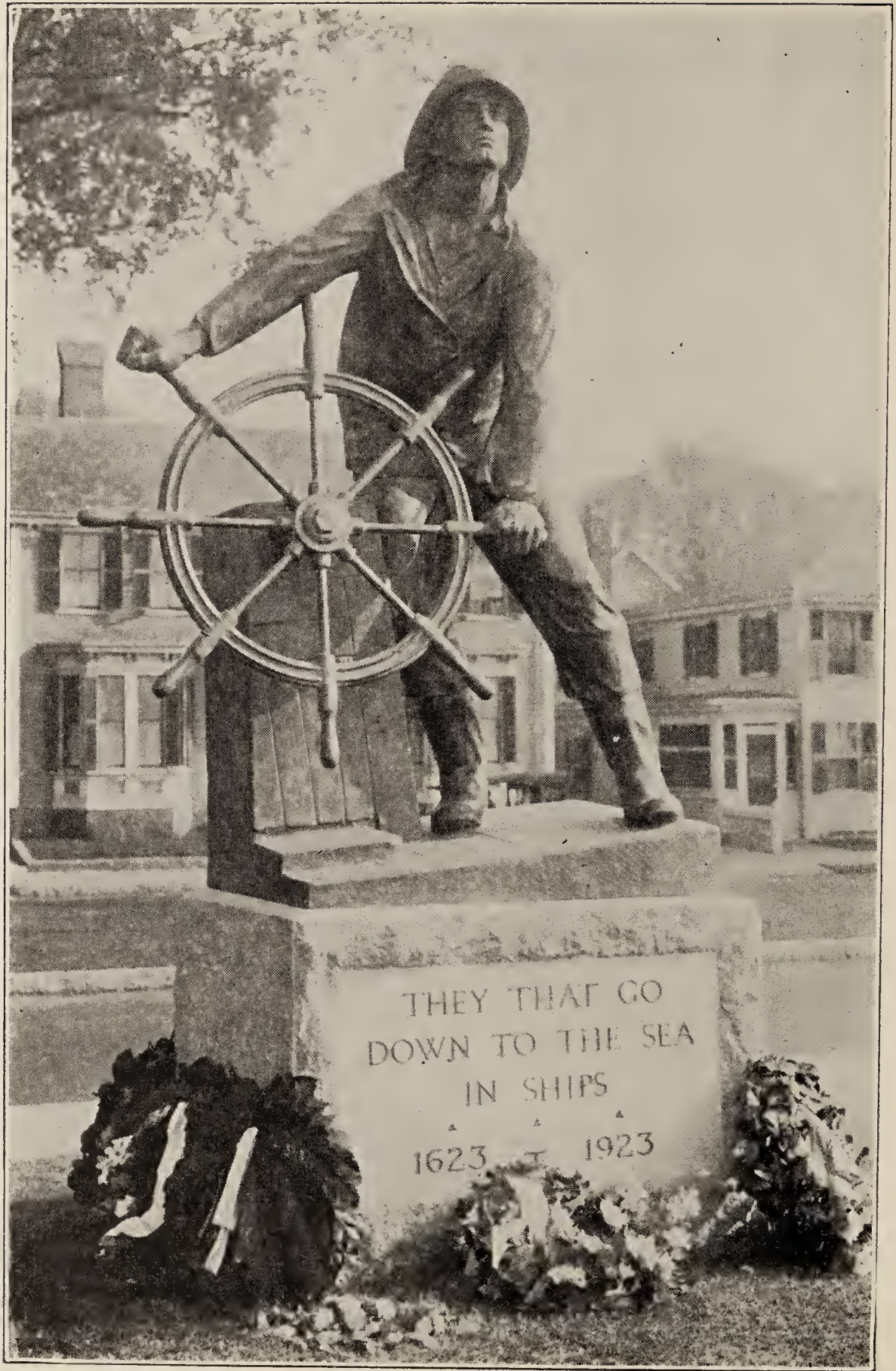
The Golden Age of whaling had begun and for fifty years it developed amazingly. For Nantucket, the first portion of the period was the most prosperous, just as for whalers themselves it was the most enjoyable. Not only were there the glittering South Sea Islands, many of which had never been visited by white men, open for their pleasure, but they were well paid for their labors (a condition which shortly changed to the other extreme).

Nantucket carried on the old system of "lays." Instead of paying wages, every man received a share or "lay" in the vessel's profits. For example, the ship's owner received some 60 percent. The master received five percent and the other officers and men on down in proportion to the cabin boy who received about half of one percent.

Also, the ship owners confined their business jealously to the island. Not only were the crews island-born, or connected, but the oil and the products of the industry were "kept to home." No outsider could "muscle in"; even the packets which ferried to the mainland were island owned and only island owned ships could bring trade goods to the island and expect to sell them.

The result was that the island was very prosperous. Every cent that resulted from whaling was kept in the island; no commission merchants in Boston or New York skimmed the Islander's cream. Neat white houses, with "widows' walks" atop, were built, good schools were established and, in fact, the barren bank of sand flourished like a garden.

But Nantucket had two handicaps which shortly cost her the leadership of the whaling industry. The first was geographical: the harbor was small and blocked by a bar over which ships had to be lifted at considerable expense; and the island, as such, could not readily ship its products without first ferrying them to the mainland. The second was psychological. Sperm oil brought the best price so Nantucket caught nothing but sperm whales. New Bedford, at first a child of the island, was not at all so exclusive, any kind of whale at all was grease for its ships and so, inevitably, Nantucket ran down hill and New



GLOUCESTER—THE FISHERMEN'S PERMANENT MEMORIAL
Dedicated to the hundreds of men who have lost their lives at sea
Courtesy of the Gloucester Chamber of Commerce

Bedford came up until by the 1850 the child had passed the parent and was supreme.

Of course, this does not mean that Nantucket was unimportant: the island was of great importance as long as whales were caught. In 1840, when whaling was at its height, Nantucket had a population of nearly ten thousand, sent out nearly a hundred whalers and led the world in the output of refined oil and sperm candles.

New Bedford, from the very first was quick to seize upon the main chance. Up to the War of 1812, it was interested not only in whaling but in foreign trade. But, when the embargo and the war made that activity progressively less and less profitable, the city turned with all its characteristic enthusiasm to whaling. Its merchant ships were refitted as whalers and sent out to scour the seven seas. While other ports were waiting for foreign trade to return to them, and sat still and watched Boston gobble up all that did come back, New Bedford specialized in whales and coined money.

Fairhaven, across the river from New Bedford, followed suit—as soon every town along Buzzards Bay and Long Island Sound did. But New Bedford, thanks to her excellent harbor and eventually to her superior railroad connections, was in a commanding position and the city for a time became the fifth largest sea-port in America. Her fleet came to number more than three hundred ships and her population grew from four thousand to nearly twenty thousand in some forty years.

New Bedford, Fairhaven and Nantucket skippers joined in finding new whaling grounds. Soon every inch of the Pacific was explored, the best grounds marked off and then the Arctic and Antarctic wastes were invaded, an excursion into the Frost which often resulted in ships being nipped in the ice and lost with all hands. But Arctic fishing was immensely profitable and the skippers continued to dare the bergs and floes and, if they escaped, brought fortunes home with them. For example, the *Charles W. Morgan* of New Bedford, on her first voyage—September 6th, 1841 to January 1845—brought back oil valued at \$69,591.

Other vessels, which remained away from home for even longer periods, piled up proportionately larger earnings for, basing upon the Hawaiian Islands, they sailed up and down the Pacific, nearly from pole to pole according to the season, and, returning to Hawaii annually, unloaded the cargoes of oil there, shipping the barrels home by merchant men.

Meanwhile, wives and families waited at home. Some of the men however, did not, for the most part, miss their families to any great extent for the Eden-like delights of the South Sea Islands, in the

glorious days when the Islands were what modern romance paints them as being, were theirs for unlimited enjoyment.

Unfortunately, the whalers did not behave themselves, even according to the morals of the Islands. In 1820, an earnest group of Bostonians, forming at "Brimstone Corner," Park and Tremont streets, landed at Kailua to undertake the work of extending to the natives the benefits of Christianity. They found the whalers in a roaring paradise; the Islands were the whalers', that was all there was to it. But the missionaries were of the same stock as the whalers, possibly even blood kindred, and they joined the battle of righteousness against sin.

Shortly the Bostonians conquered the Nantucket and New Bedford whalers and stopped the exploitation of the Islands more or less. The city of Honolulu remained, however, the base for the whalers, more than four hundred calling annually in 1840. But it was pure business that brought them there. With oil unloaded, provisions and new barrels in the holds, the ships simply sailed off to other Islands, of which there were literally thousands unspoiled, and enjoyed themselves there.

If they had been content merely to enjoy themselves, it is questionable if the natives would have objected; but the whalers, who were distinctly not missionaries, were always received with arrows and spears upon any second visit. The chief reasons for this seem to be two. First was the practice of kidnapping men to fill vacancies in the crew, a kidnapping which was virtually slavery. Second was the pleasant habit of whalers loading up with supplies, "traded" for with virgin natives, and then sailing away without remembering to pay for what they had received.

The Golden Age of whaling refers to financial profits and the development of the business—not to the welfare of the whalers themselves. The development of the business was astounding. In 1818, for example when some twenty tons of whalebone were produced, the price was seventeen cents a pound. In the 1850's, when more than two millions pounds were sold, the price was just under a dollar. Oil prices advanced too, in direct proportion to the supply, be that in contradiction to the law of supply or demand or not. When slightly more than a million gallons were marketed annually, as in 1820, the price was well under twenty five cents a gallon. By 1840, the price passed the dollar point and in the 50's, when more than five million gallons were marketed in and from the United States each year, the price per gallon actually reached \$1.77 for sperm oil and 80 cents for plain whale oil.

In the old days, particularly before 1825, the crews were not only as well treated as in the merchant service (which was the best service

in the world for the times) but actually did share reasonably in the profits of the voyage. But, from 1830 on until the end, the men before the mast were exploited and brutalized in the most amazing fashion. It is one of the blackest chapters in American marine history.

Physically and morally the situation was desperate. Only the low type of men would ship on whalers, only broken-down tars who could find no other berth; they, together with fugitives from justice, convicts on parole and a body of innocent boys fresh from the backwoods, who were betrayed into slavery by venal crimps. Thus, the owners used the character of their crews as an excuse for perpetrating abuses. Brass knuckled mates enforced obedience with blows first and orders afterward. Men who refused to be "broken" were lashed to the figurehead, where seas nearly drowned them or, in high latitudes, they were lashed to the mast or even ironed to the fore-tops until they were nearly frozen. If they were too strong physically to break under this discipline and strong enough not to perish, skippers at time deliberately abandoned them on lonely islands, where the tender hearts of the natives might be trusted to speedily make away with evidence of the crime.

Naturally enough, with such crews existing under such treatment, vice was rampant. The forecastles were finishing schools in every perversion known to mankind.

Bad as all this was, the financial treatment the crews received was even worse. A man who completed a four or five year voyage might leave the ship owing the proprietors money while usually wages for the years were commonly but a few dollars.

This profitable practice was brought about by various expedients. First, the "lay" system was cut down to microscopic portions; in place of the old two percent, or a 75th or a 90th, the "lay" was reduced to half of one percent, a 200th, or even less. This "lay" was at times even further reduced by trickery. Agents would reluctantly agree to give a green boy a 250th or a 300th if he protested that a 200th was too small.

Thus, if the average profit in a four year voyage was \$50,000, a man receiving a 200th would be owed but \$250.

But never a man of that rating received that much. This was invariably greatly reduced by various means. Five and ten percent was often deducted for "insurance"—insurance which seems to have been exclusively for the benefit of the owners and not for the men. Then, commissions were charged against each lay for the "cost" of selling the oil and, at times, the cost of barrels was deducted proportionately from each "lay." Such tricks were numerous.

But the biggest cut in the wage came when the man's "slop-chest" account was deducted. The slop-chest was the ship's store room. From it—and only from it—could the men obtain their four or five years' supply of clothing and tobacco. If, when in port, they wanted money for wine and women, the only way they could obtain funds was to purchase something from the slop-chest and then sell it ashore for a few cents on the dollar.

The profit to the ship came in the prices charged; a hundred percent profit was picayune; three hundred percent profit was more common. Thus, when out of a \$250 "lay," the various commissions and percent charges were taken and the slop-chest account deducted, a few dollars was apt to be all that a man could expect.

However, some men before the mast never came home to collect what little was due them. Skippers brutalized the men deliberately so that they would desert and thus forfeit their wage and, if they refused to run off, cases of deliberate marooning are alleged. In effect, the Golden Age of whaling reduced its crew to virtual slavery and conditions became so bad that no seaman would willingly ship on a whaler. When all enticements failed to lure boys aboard from recruiting expeditions up into the woods, crimps were hired to drug sailors and ship them aboard insensible. The awakening of these unfortunates must have been dreadful—a four year's penitentiary sentence to hard labor was paradise to what they knew was their fate.

But, aside from the slavery, life aboard the whalers had its compensations. At its worst, there were long periods of idleness when the sturdy old ships lumbered along in search of whales, ships that were built for the purpose and sacrificed speed to cargo space and sea-worthiness. Ordinary weather did not bother the whaling ships in the slightest; only the rare hurricane disturbed them and, aside from the disasters amid Arctic ice, hardly a whaler was lost. The oil they carried acted to preserve their timbers and the ships sailed on year after year. The *Charles W. Morgan*, for example, saw active service from 1841 to 1920, making no less than 37 voyages to the Atlantic, Pacific, Indian and Arctic oceans. She probably earned more than \$2,000,000 in her career, and her timbers are still sound and, were she afloat in water instead of the sand that now protects her, she could voyage the world today safely.

Once adequate methods for hunting whales and obtaining the oil were developed, there seems to have been little improvement made in technique during the Golden Age.

When a school or "pod" or "shoal" was sighted, boats, filled with

oarsmen—each pulling one oar—raced away from the ship towards the school. Sometimes the whales would frighten and dive. Then would follow hours of waiting for the monsters to come up again and betray themselves by “blowing.”

If a boat was fortunate enough to reach the side of Leviathan, the harpooner—a skilled huntsman—stationed in the very bow of the boat, hurled the harpoon into the creature. This was a heavy, arrow-shaped iron weapon so toggled that its barbs expanded upon being reversed and thus locked the iron in the whale’s flesh.

A rope, fastened to the eye of the harpoon, ran back to a tub in the whale-boat, wherein it was craftily coiled so that it could be paid out without either snarling or falling into loops. These last were a constant source of danger; should one of them form and snap a half-hitch about the neck, arm or leg of a man, the weight of the whale would close the loop and cut head, arm or leg off “quicker’n a wink.”

Playing a whale once the harpoon was fast, was in principle like playing a salmon on a light rod; only, for a rod, the whalers used a boat, and for a reel, a few turns about the loggerhead, the projecting few inches of the boat’s bow timber.

It was a lively business, this playing of a whale. The object was to tire him out so as to get within striking distance of the long lances, with which the actual killing was accomplished.

If the whale raced away along the surface of the water the business was easy; boat-crew and officers simply settled down to enjoy a “Nantucket sleigh-ride,” as they were towed for miles at high speed up, over and down the swells of mid-ocean. But sometimes, the whale tried to escape by diving and constant watchfulness was necessary in order to prevent this reaction from pulling boat and crew down into the depths. The line was simply paid out as fast as the whale “sounded.” If the original line was not long enough (whales are alleged to sometimes sound down for a mile) then another line was bent onto the first. Meanwhile, the officer did his best to discourage the fish from going too deeply by keeping as much strain on the line, by means of a few turns about the loggerhead, as he could without pulling the bow under.

Then, when the whale started up again, all the fathoms of line must be pulled in and neatly coiled into the tub for, when once the whale reached the surface again, he would dart away like an express train, and if the boat was full of loops of line when he started, arms and legs and heads would fall like leaves in October.

The most serious danger seems to have come when, on occasions, fortunately unusual, a whale, enraged, would rush the boat and, if the oarsmen were not sufficiently alert to side-step the charge, smash the oak and pine into splinters and float away into freedom while the floundering crew swam about—if they could swim, and few sailors can swim—until they were picked up.

Once the whale tired, the boat would come up to him by all hands pulling the line in, hand over hand. Then the harpooner, or the officer, would seize a lance and start stabbing into the mass of flesh, seeking for a vital spot. Commonly this started "sleigh-riding" anew but, each time, the rides were shorter and shorter as the animal gradually weakened.

And then, at last, when the lance found the heart, the whale expired in a great thrashing. Observers say that sometimes the animal would leap clear of the water; commonly the creature would be hidden in a wild fury of spray.

Once dead, the crew would sit down, light their pipes, and wait for the ship to come up to them; unless there were other whales about, in which case, the boat would immediately start in pursuit of another victim; keeping up the chase as long as a whale was in sight.

When the ship came up, it would lower a great iron hook from the main yard and securely fasten the whale to the ship's side. Specially experienced men would then leap down upon the carcass and with square edged shovels, sharpened to a razor's edge, cut away the blubber in great cubes. As the whale was "stripped" it would be rolled over gradually until nothing was left but meat and bones.

This bloody business attracted great hordes of sharks, who not only fed avidly upon the whale, but eagerly waited for some sailor to miss his footing upon the shiny carcass and slip into the sea. Few men seldom slipped more than once.

Meanwhile, fires were lighted under the great iron pots and chunks of blubber were fed in as rapidly as they could be melted down. The crisp residue of the blubber would be lifted out and fed to the flames for fuel.

Since, commonly, daylight hours were spent in the chase, trying out of the oil was done at night and the leaping flames, fed with dripping blubber crisp, must have created a magnificent spectacle; the oil drenched men leaping about the lurid decks and a great cloud of black smoke towering upwards, lighted beneath by the yellow fire.

As fast as might be, the bubbling oil was dipped out of the pots into barrels and, as quickly as one was filled, it would be headed and sent down into the hold for storage.

Probably, under ordinary circumstances, after a day spent in killing whales and a night passed in frying out the oil, the men would be permitted to stagger, more dead than alive, to their bunks. But, if the dawn revealed whales about, with kicks and curses, the exhausted men would be driven into the boats and another day spent in the chase with another night in boiling out. As long as whales were to be found, the work went on; if a man dropped, and kicks failed to force him to his feet or a bucket of sea-water to revive him, he was thrown into a corner out of the way until he came to. Should by chance, he fail to do so by the time the work was over, the sharks alongside were waiting and the owners would be that much better off.

But it must not be forgotten that whaling was rare sport. No thrill exists in the world today comparable to the chasing, harpooning, riding and killing of a whale. In mid-ocean, in whatever weather was blowing, men in small boats with their sides only a few inches out of the water, dared the largest animals in the world. Thousands of men were undoubtedly killed, drowned or crushed to death when a dying whale smashed their boats but, as sport—there is nothing that can compare with it today.

Herman Melville tells the story better than anyone else has ever told it. Listen:

(Tashtego, the Gay Head Indian, is aloft as lookout. His scream suddenly shatters the week-long quiet.)

“‘There she blows! there! there! there! she blows! she blows!’

“‘Where-away?’

“‘On the lee-beam, about two miles off! a school of them!’

“‘Instantly all was confusion.’ . . .

(Ahab, the Captain, as the drilled crews swarm to their boats)

“‘All ready there?’

“‘Ready’ was the half hissed reply.

“‘Lower away then; d’ye hear? . . . Lower away there, I say.’

“ . . . the men sprang over the rail; the sheaves whirled round in the blocks; with a wallow, the three boats dropped into the sea; while, with a dexterous, off-handed daring, unknown in any other vocation, the sailors, goat-like, leaped down the rolling ship’s side into the tossed boats below.”

(The boats race away after the whales, the mates exhorting the crews to the utmost as) “‘Pull, pull, my fine hearts-alive . . . why don’t you break your backbones, my boys? . . . So, so; there you are now; that’s the stroke for a thousand pounds. Hurrah for the gold cup of sperm oil, my heroes. Three cheers, men—all heart’s

alive! Why don't you snap your oars, you rascals? Bite something, you dogs! . . . That's it, long and strong! The devil fetch ye, ye ragamuffin rascallions; ye are all asleep. Why don't ye pull?—pull and break something! pull and start your eye out! Here, every mother's son of ye draw his knife, and pull with the blade between his teeth. That's it—that's it. Now ye do something; that looks like it!—. . . Sing out and say something, my hearties. Roar and pull, my thunderbolts. Beach me, beach me on their black backs, boys; only do that for me, and I'll sign over to ye my Martha's Vineyard plantation, boys; including wife and children, boys. Lay me on—lay me on! O Lord, Lord! but I shall go stark, staring mad. . . . And so shouting, he pulled his hat from his head, and stamped up and down upon it, flung it far off upon the sea; and finally fell to rearing and plunging in the boat's stern like a crazed colt from the prairie.

"It was a sight full of quick wonder and awe! The vast swells of the omnipotent sea; the surging, hollow roar they made, as they rolled along the eight gunwhales (of the four whaleboats), like gigantic bowls in a boundless bowling-green; the brief suspended agony of the boat, as it would tip for an instant on the knife-like edge of the sharper waves, that almost seemed threatening to cut it in two; the sudden profound dip into the watery glens and hollows; the keen spurrings and goadings to gain the top of the opposite hill; the headlong, sled-like slide down its other side;—all these, with the cries of the headsmen and harpooners, and the shuddering gasps of the oarsmen . . . all this was thrilling. Not the raw recruit, marching from the bosom of his wife into the fever heat of his first battle; not the dead man's ghost encountering the first unknown phantom of the other world;—neither of these can feel stranger and stronger emotions than that man does, who for the first time finds himself pulling into the charmed, churned circle of the hunted sperm whale."

(The boats dash on; finally one approaches a whale.)

"Like desperadoes (the oarsmen) they tugged and they strained, till the welcome cry was heard—! 'Stand up, Tashtego!—give it to him!' The harpoon was hurled. 'Stern all!' The oarsmen backed water; the same moment something went hot and hissing along every one of their wrists. It was the magical line. An instant before, Stubb (the officer in command of the boat) had swiftly caught two additional turns with it round the loggerhead, whence, by reason of its increased rapid circlings, a hempen blue smoke now jetted up. . . . 'Wet the line! wet the line!' cried Stubb to the tub oarsman (him seated near the tub) who, snatching off his hat, dashed the sea water into it. More turns were taken, so that the line began holding its place. The boat now flew through the boiling water like a shark all fins. . . .

"A continual cascade played at the bows; a ceaseless whirling eddy in her wake; and at the slightest motion from within, even but of a little finger, the vibrating, cracking craft canted over her spasmodic gunwhale into the sea. Thus they rushed; each man with might and main clinging to his seat to prevent being tossed into the foam. . . . Whole Atlantics and Pacifics seemed passed as they shot on their way, till at length the whale somewhat slackened in his flight.

" 'Haul in—haul in!' cried Stubb to the bowsman, and, facing round towards the whale, all hands began pulling the boat up to him, while yet the boat was being towed on. Soon ranging by his flank, Stubb . . . darted dart after dart into the flying fish; at the word of command, the boat alternately sterning out of the way of the whale's horrible wallow, and then ranging up for another fling.

"The red tide now poured from all sides of the monster like brooks down a hill. His tormented body rolled not in brine but in blood, which bubbled and seethed for furlongs behind their wake. The slanting sun playing upon this crimson pond in the sea, sent back its reflection into every face, so that they all glowed to each other like red men. . . .

" 'Pull up—pull up!' Stubb now cried, as the waning whale relaxed in his wrath. 'Pull up—close to!' and the boat ranged along the fish's flank. When reaching over the bow, Stubb slowly churned his long sharp lance into the fish, and kept it there, carefully churning and churning, as if cautiously seeking to feel after some gold watch that the whale might have swallowed, and which he was fearful of breaking ere he could hook it out. But that gold watch he sought was the innermost life of the fish.

"And now it is struck; for, starting from his trance into that unspeakable thing called his 'flurry,' the monster horribly wallowed in his blood, overwrapped himself in impenetrable, mad, boiling spray, so that the imperilled craft, instantly dropping astern, had much ado blindly to struggle out from that phrensied twilight into the clear air of the day.

"And now, abating in his flurry, the whale once more rolled out into view; surging from side to side; spasmodically dilating and contracting his spout-hole, with sharp, cracking agonized respirations. At last, gush after gush of clotted red gore, as if it had been the purple lees of red wine, shot into the frightened air; and, falling back again, ran dripping down his motionless flanks into the sea. His heart had burst!

" 'He's dead, Mr. Stubb,' said Daggoo.

" 'Yes; both pipes smoked out!' and withdrawing his own from his mouth, Stubb scattered the dead ashes over the water; and for a moment, stood thoughtfully eyeing the vast corpse he had made."

CHAPTER XXXIX

The Third Constitutional Convention (1853)

Originating in politics, sustained by politics and defeated by politics, the third constitutional convention of 1853 labored for seventy two days, cost the tax payers in direct expenses \$117,000, and resulted in nothing but a gale of oratory and a sea of printers' ink. Doubtless significant and as doubtless important—the 1853 convention succeeded only in failure.

Its reasons for being were many and varied but chief of them all was the half century old bone of contention—the system of representation. The immediate coming into being, however, was not caused by an outbreak of popular dissatisfaction with the apportionment but rather by the temporary ousting of the Whigs from Beacon Hill. The election of 1850 was one of the most complete upsets the Commonwealth has witnessed. Actually very strong, the dominant Whig party lost heavily all along the line. Just as in Theodore Roosevelt's time, the liberal conservatives left the ranks of their party; dissatisfied with the Old Guard control of the Whigs, the so called Conscience Whigs, or Free Soilers, deserted to form the "Coalition" with the Democrats. Weak enough along shore, the Coalition mustered huge majorities in the interior of the State and elected Democratic George S. Boutwell, Governor, Free Soiler Charles Sumner, United States Senator, and also secured control of the General Court, as well as many minor State elective and appointive offices.

This resulted in a general house cleaning in which, at last, the demands for a determined amendment of the Constitutional election laws received a sympathetic hearing. The smaller towns and agricultural sections of the State, reasonably enough, feared that the growth of the coastal cities and manufacturing centers was resulting in their unequal control of the Legislature and also, that even in districts in which the Whigs were not dominant, by the use of the so called "general ticket system" the Whigs could smother such towns and cities which, Democratic, were unfortunate enough to be lumped in with large Whig municipalities.

In January, 1851, a joint legislative committee was appointed to "report a more equal and just system of representation" and on March 26th, the committee brought out a proposed amendment under Amendment Nine which, in effect, lowered the number of inhabitants necessary before a town was entitled to an annual representative. This was, beyond doubt, just catering to the small towns who formed the base of the Coalition Party and the larger towns and cities lost no time in expostulating; claiming that the proposal would give 139 smaller towns with but 150,000 citizens 119 representatives—the same number as would be given to 40 larger towns and cities with more than three times as many residents. Naturally, the proposed amendment failed of passage.

In reply, the small town bloc introduced a bill into the Senate calling for a Constitutional Convention. Since only a majority was necessary to pass this bill (in place of the two thirds vote required for an amendment) the bill was squeezed through. However, in the November election, the voters turned down the idea, 65,846 nays to 60,972 yeas.

Not in the least discouraged, the next session of the General Court, urged by Governor Boutwell, received another bill for a constitutional convention. And this time, propaganda was enlisted to swing the voice of the people over to "Aye." Amasa Walker of North Brookfield, published a legislative report which gravely alarmed the small towns of the State. Based upon the census of 1840 and that of 1850, it essayed to predict what representative conditions would be under imagined census reports of 1860 and 1870. For example, Walker alleged that, while Franklin County in 1850 had nine towns entitled to elect a representative annually, by 1870 the County would have but two such towns. Similarly, he claimed, all rural representation would decline. This report was widely circulated. And, of course, the regular arguments for the Convention were advanced—the proponents orating that the old familiar changes in apportionment should be made and, also, that the people should have the right to elect more public officials, that the General Court's session should be limited to 100 days, that special acts of incorporation should be prohibited, that the plurality system should be extended, that the cumbersome formal governmental organization should be simplified, that justices of the peace should be elected and not appointed, that public money should be set aside for school purpose in definite proportion and so on—clearly the wishes of the people against the interests, the old against the new and the country against the city. Really, the proponents envisaged nothing less than a complete revision of the Constitution and, knowing

that the opposition would make much of the opportunity of making all necessary amendments to the Constitution under the Ninth Amendment rather than resorting to an expensive and ponderous Convention, argued that a Convention was the only remedy for the situation since the Legislature was unable to adequately cope with it. They said, "We can think of nothing more rash and dangerous, than for the Legislature, in connection with the hundreds of other subjects which press upon its attention, to enter at the same time upon a general revision of the Constitution." And, also, the proponents tacitly belittled the General Court, saying that in a Convention, the Constitution would receive the attention of able and eminent men who "are either legally or practically ineligible to the Legislature."

In the November, 1852, election, the voters accepted the idea and authorized the Third Constitutional Convention by 66,416 to 59,112. However, the election proved to be the swan song of the Coalitionists for the Whigs came back into power with vigor and enthusiasm. And, as was to be expected, the Whig Governor, Clifford, in his message to the Legislature in January, 1853, suggested that the Convention be cancelled. He said, "Impressed as I am with the conviction that the law passed at the last session, providing for the calling of such convention, is at least of doubtful constitutionality,—that all the amendments that are really desirable could be made in the manner prescribed for its own amendment in the Constitution itself . . . I cannot refrain from expressing a regret that for such an object an additional burden should at this moment have been cast upon the treasury."

Accordingly, the General Court stirred itself to repeal the enabling act—but the effort failed and the delegates were duly elected on March 7, 1853.

All towns were entitled to send at least one delegate and all but six did so. All in all, 422 men were elected, of whom 419 took their seats. Since they were given a blank check upon the state treasury for salary, they jumped the daily rate of pay from two dollars, as in 1820, to three dollars—thus giving themselves a black eye to begin with. Oddly enough, since there was no residential qualification for election, several leading city Democrats and Free Soilers, fearing defeat at home, ran as delegates from country town strongholds of Democracy. Thus the Cambridge Free Soilers, Richard H. Dana, Jr. and Anson Burlingame, were elected respectively to represent Manchester and Northboro, while Henry Wilson, of Natick, was shrewd enough to run in both his home town and in Berlin—and was elected by both!

The delegates assembled at the State House on May 4, 1853 and wasted two weeks in organizing and electing officers. Even if they did have a majority, the Coalitionists could not agree among themselves. Finally Nathaniel P. Banks, Free Soiler, was elected President and work began. Amid the horde of politicians were, undoubtedly, many able men—for, after all, it was a Massachusetts Convention. There was Benjamin F. Butler, Francis W. Bird, Marcus Morton and his son, Marcus Morton, Jr., Robert Rantoul, Rufus Choate, George S. Hillard and Nathan Hale. However, the real leaders of the State, other than politicians and lawyers, were slimly represented. When it is realized that the time was the flowering of Emerson, Whittier, Thoreau, Garrison, Phillips, Horace Mann and the other immortals, the pop-guns of oratory discharged in the chaste white halls of the State House were pitiful compared to the thunder that might have been. And the delegates were not really representative of the Commonwealth itself. They were farmers, merchants, lawyers and sons of the old Revolutionary stock—the old order that did not recognize adequately that the Commonwealth was even then an industrial and manufacturing State and, also, that the inhabitants were at least a fifth foreign born. Actually, most of the foreign born were Irish; yet the Convention numbered but one Irishman and all in all, only seven members of the Convention's 419 were born outside of the United States.

In procedure, the Convention was much like the others. The Convention, having as its appointed task the complete revision of the Constitution, divided the document into fifteen sections and referred each to a committee for consideration and report. Then these reports were debated by the entire body, amendments offered and disposed of by acceptance or rejection and finally the whole "reduced . . . to the form in which it will be proper to submit the same to the people for ratification." This form was finally determined as being the inclusion of most of the proposed changes into a new constitution with the seven remaining proposals left out and offered to the people as separate amendments.

The drafting of a new Constitution was delegated to a subcommittee of three, Professor Joel Parker of the Harvard Law School, Ex-Governor Boutwell and Richard H. Dana, Jr. Their specific task was to delete from the Constitution all the material made obsolete by the thirteen existing amendments as well as to eliminate everything that would be annulled by the proposed changes. And in addition, they had to take the proposed changes, express them in formal and

legal language and to incorporate them into the new document:—a monumental task worthy of a better fate than awaited it. It is said that Boutwell and Dana accomplished the major part of the job in a single twelve hour session in a room in the now vanished Adams House on Washington Street.

While this subcommittee was busy, members of the Convention amused themselves with a frisky debate upon woman suffrage. The enabling act of the body said that the changes "shall be submitted to the people for their ratification and adoption, in such manner as the said Convention shall direct." Mrs. Abby Alcott, wife of the Concord transcendentalist, and one of the first feminists, saw an opportunity in the wording and presented a petition signed by seventy four women with the burden that, since women were after all, people, might they also be permitted to vote upon ratification along with the men folks. Of course, nothing came of it beyond discussion and a related proposal that it might be well to offer the ratification to a wider male electorate than was then in legal existence.

The three fat volumes of debates and proceedings are a wilderness of words in which it is difficult to follow the work of the Convention. Perhaps the simplest way of picturing what did happen is to consider the changes that were ultimately made, as shown in the new Constitution which the delegates finally offered to the voters.

The Bill of Rights was altered very little. In the form of 1780, it is a very complete statement of the privileges of the people, being derived from such sources as *Magna Carta* (literally so in parts), the Colonists' Revolution-tempered ideas upon kings and emperors, and similar declarations in the constitutions of other states, such as Pennsylvania, Virginia, Delaware, North Carolina and Maryland—plus Rousseau and Locke. Concerning the attitude of the sub-committee (Dana and Boutwell) towards this philosophical statement of principles, Dana wrote, as reported in Adams' *Dana*, in his diary: "In our committee we resolved not to attempt to rewrite the instrument, only to make the necessary changes. We discussed the principle of the 'Social Compact' which is set forth in it, and we found not one man who believed in it. . . . It is mere fiction, which served its turn against tyranny, but cannot stand examination. Still, we could not alter that without altering the entire phraseology which might peril the Constitution before the people . . ." About the only change actually made in the Bill of Rights was that in Article XXIX which, while it embodied the ideas of John Adams' idealism of an

impartial judiciary serving during good behavior at a fixed salary, had to be altered a bit to conform with changes in the judicial system already made.

In connection with the debate upon the proposed change in this article, several leading lawyers proposed to have it read so that juries would have the right to determine law as well as facts in criminal cases. Imagine that! Other leading lawyers opposed the idea and the resulting debate is not only copious but is such a searching investigation of the fundamental law of the Commonwealth that it forms part of the education of attorneys today. The amendment was adopted but was finally eliminated from the Bill of Rights and offered to the people as a proposition to be determined apart from the whole Constitution—as was also another related amendment concerning prohibition of imprisonment for debt.

Chapter One of the new Constitution was also changed but very little from Chapter One of the original document. The only alterations were those limiting the session of the General Court to one hundred days and fixing members' pay by statutes.

Chapter Two was changed to meet the clamor for more adequate representation by all the people. It provided for a State Senate of forty members, elected from equal districts apportioned according to population rather than by the old "legal voter" system. Henry Wilson, chairman of the sub-committee on Chapter Two, was responsible for pushing the change through the Convention. His chief argument was that the old "legal voter" idea was unfair and unjust in that it discriminated against unnaturalized foreign born residents who, as such, although better than 200,000 strong were not voters. Also, he appealed to the right to representation of the thousands of factory girls in the mill towns, who, being women, could also not vote although they were taxed. The debate against Wilson was long and the opposition determined.

Chapter Three, concerned with the House of Representatives, dealt boldly with the thorny perennial problem of apportionment of representatives,—favoring of city over town, and single town districts as opposed to group town districts. In essence, the Chapter was a compromise and thus neither accomplished much or pleased anyone. Motivated, of course, by the desire of the small country towns to obtain representation at the expense of the large towns and cities, the Convention might be expected to bring out a measure to that end. Accordingly, the sub-committee's report, that of the majority, went all out to please the farmers. Briefly, the report would have provided

every town, no matter how insignificant, with a representative annually, and towns of 5,000 or more would have two representatives and others in addition for each other 5,000 population—with the limit that no town or city, however large, might have more than thirty. The minority of the Committee reported conservatively, proposing the system now in operation, that which divides the State into equal population districts, combining towns and dividing cities as necessary.

The resulting debate was tremendous and completely transcended all party and philosophical lines. Of course, the argument was the old and perennial controversy between city and country. Roughly, however, as the conservative elements controlled the cities and manufacturing towns, they opposed any change which would break their power—just as the liberal element plumped for additional representation. The fact that, under the majority proposal, twenty five percent of the population of the Commonwealth would elect more than fifty percent of the membership of the House of Representatives seemed just as fitting and proper to the liberals as it was monstrous to the conservatives. Dana, defending this point, made one of the best speeches of the Convention, saying just about everything that could possibly be said in favor of small towns against the big cities. He claimed that small town legislators were better representatives than big town or city delegates because they were chosen not by a party machine but by the town meeting. Further, he maintained that the wealth of the Commonwealth was being rapidly concentrated in the cities to the loss of the country districts and that it was necessary to have the small towns given a larger proportionate representation so that they could protect American ideals against corporate interests, rapacious wealth, the “proletariat” and the foreign born. And, finally, he claimed that citizens living in towns were better citizens than those concentrated in manufacturing and industrial centers. “It is a mistake,” he said, “to treat the one million inhabitants of Massachusetts as if they were so many units. They are formed into organizations and communities, having common interests and objects, and some of these are one hundred times stronger than others.”

George S. Hillard, representing blue-stockinged Boston's Back Bay to be, answered Dana in a fervent defense of the virtue and intelligence of the city capitalist and remarked: “The gentleman from Manchester [Dana], in the course of his remarks, let fall a drop or two of blistering dew upon the City of Boston. I winced a little at that portion of his speech. . . . I am sorry that he should have cast one stick

upon a fire out of whose heat none but vipers can come. As the bread both he and I eat comes from the business community of Boston; from men, some of whom are rich and all of whom hope to be rich, it does not become us, like forward children, to strike at the hand which feeds us."

After considerable oratory of this type, the Convention eventually voted to adopt a form of representation not quite so far-reaching as the original majority report. According to the Chapter, as presented to the people, every town of less than 1,000 inhabitants, could elect one Representative in the census year and, also, a representative five years out of every ten. Then, all towns between 1,000 and 4,000 could elect a Representative annually with an additional Representative for each 4,000 in population above the first 4,000. Towns of less than 1,000 had the privilege of uniting with other such small towns to elect a representative annually, while large cities were to be partitioned off into districts, each one of which could not elect more than three representatives annually. This was, of course, still very much in favor of the small town. For example, as Marcus Morton pointed out, Fall River with 11,170 inhabitants would have but three representatives while twenty three small towns with a total population about the same as that of Fall River would have twenty-three representatives. Similarly he said, New Bedford, with more than 16,000 inhabitants would have only five representatives, while thirty small towns with about the same total population would have thirty representatives. Naturally, the Conservative element did not like Chapter III.

Chapters Four and Five of the new Constitution were concerned with the Governor and Lieutenant Governor. Other than abolishing old titles and property qualifications, no changes were made.

Chapter Six would have the Council elected by the voters. It was agreed upon by the delegates only after much discussion. To begin with, Benjamin F. Hallett recommended the abolition of the Council altogether; he would have had its financial powers given to a State Auditor, its pardon power to a State Board of Pardons and its other powers and functions assigned to the Governor. In opposition, Edward L. Keyes of Dedham raised the ghost of "one man power"—dictators, folks call such executives today. He said that the Council was a necessary check upon the Governor and scoffed at the slander that "the Council have nothing to do, during the long sessions but to tell stories and read the newspapers." Ex-Governor Boutwell testified to his experience with the Council and said it was worth its cost many times over.

Chapter Seven would have provided for the annual election of the Attorney-General, Auditor, Secretary, Treasurer; the triennial election of all county officers and judges of probate. Since, for years, the entire nation had been more and more turning towards the limitation of appointment and the election of all public officers, including the judiciary, this Chapter was in direct accordance with the known wishes of large numbers of Massachusetts folks—excepting one point, the judiciary. The Commonwealth has never wanted to have its judges elected; it feels now as then, that the election of judges would turn the courts over to the politicians altogether. Thus, the Convention accepted the report of the Committee on this Chapter without much discussion, save for that single item of election of county judges of probate. And did that raise the dust!

Benjamin F. Butler, speaking for the item, complained of the arrogance of probate justices and declared that “one of the best methods of punishing the manners of some of our judges is to subject their office to the popular vote.” Right back at him, orating as much from personal dislike, as from real concern in the subject, George S. Hillard declared in part: “The occupation of a judge is trying to the patience and the spirits. Especially is he tried by the bad manners of a portion of the bar. . . . whose professional bearing is marked by coarse brutality and foul-mouthed ferocity . . . who import their morals from the State Prison, their manners from a beer-garden, and their language from Billingsgate. Who has not seen lawyers of this stamp swaggering about a court-house, with the port and bearing of a bar-room bully, after his second mug of flip, insulting witnesses, treating the opposing counsel with indignities studied and unstudied—and especially hectoring and browbeating the bench? So long as we have jackalls and hyaenas at the bar, I hope we shall have a lion on the bench, who with one stroke of his vigorous paw, can, if need, be, bring their scalps right down over their eyes.” (See the second volume of the debates for more of this.)

Carrying the business further, Henry Wilson proposed another amendment appointing judges to the Supreme Judicial Court for ten years and other judges for seven years, such judges to be eligible for re-appointment until they reached the age of seventy. And Dr. Foster Hooper of Fall River offered an even more radical amendment, one making all members of the judiciary elected by the people for terms of seven years. Marcus Morton, chairman of the sub-committee on

judiciary, simply reported that the Committee was ready enough to leave things as they were, with but a minor and technical detail of adjustment. The three motions for amendments came upon the floor for debate and resulted in arguments even more drawn out than before. Wilson said, "All men are united in regard to the importance of securing and possessing an independent, able and learned judiciary . . . (and) an elective judiciary (was) more in accordance with the theory of our democratic institutions, more in harmony with the genius and spirit of our American ideas" Dana delivered another of his able speeches when he arose in favor of continuing the old system. "Is it not," he pointed out, "a fundamental maxim of America, that no change should be made until you find an existing evil to be remedied? Is there any existing? Has any man heard of an abuse? Have we any indication that the public wishes any change here?" The volumes of the Convention debates do not disclose that any delegate arose to offer the cases and particulars Dana challenged the proponents of an elective judiciary to offer but several speakers did orate for the proposal. For example, Francis W. Bird of Walpole, later one of the founders of the Republican Party in the state, incidentally, said he considered that judges should be elected, "just as inevitable (a development) and just as necessary as an elective governor and legislature have been in times past." Benjamin F. Hallett went further. He charged the Bench with being in need of responsibility. Said he, in part, ". . . (Judges are) not only independent of the people, but independent of good manners; independent, if they choose to be, of their own consciences and convictions; independent of any errors which they may make in judgment; independent of the grossest partiality, in fact of everything but crime, while they may be dependent upon, and may, unconsciously and honestly yield to the political and social influences that surround them—those cliques, those clubs, those circles, that are drawn around them as men and politicians before they are judges, and under the influence of which they go upon the bench."

Eventually, the Hooper proposal was swept out of the Convention by a vote of nearly two to one, 226 noes and 101 ayes. But the Wilson amendment offered the Conservatives a stiffer battle. For some time the ultimate issue was in doubt but at last it was found that it too was put out the window by just two votes, 158 ayes and 160 nays. But, for the Conservatives, this was a victory, indeed. Adams' *Dana* quotes the able publicist as writing in his diary, "The rejoicings and congratulations of the Boston members and the conservative men generally knew no bonds The judiciary question was con-

sidered as settled and many of the reformers told me they were satisfied with the result. . . . But the newspapers made an outcry . . . and some began to fear that they had not done enough to meet the reform tendency of the Democracy."

And such was the case, for Chapter VIII was not yet forsaken as it stood in the original Constitution. A week after the Hooper and Wilson votes, J. S. C. Knowlton of Worcester threw the whole weary business back into the Convention by offering to amend the Chapter to read that all judges should be appointed for a limited period only. Despite a Conservative rally, the Knowlton suggestion carried and Chapter VIII went to the people providing a ten-year term for judges appointed by the Governor and Council, and eligible for reappointment; a seven year term for justices of the peace; and the direct election of trial justices and police court judges by the respective towns and cities concerned. Adams quotes Dana as writing, "So the whole judiciary effort has ended in changing the life tenure to ten years; a change that gives but little gain to popular power, while it works one certain evil, it subjects each judge to the temptation or the suspicion of commending himself to the executive during the last year or two of his term."

Chapter Nine of the new Constitution was almost entirely new. Concerned with the qualifications of voters and the reform of elections, it was probably the best piece of work of the entire Convention. Article One dealt with suffrage and enfranchized all men, citizens of course, with a six months' residence the only requirement. Naturally the word that suffrage was being extended beyond the old limits was bruited about and the business was not permitted to pass in peace without woman suffrage lifting its despised head. Two petitions, headed by Harriet Randall and Frances Jackson, were presented asking that the word "male" be struck out of the Constitution. Reverend William B. Greene, delegate from Brookfield, arose to speak for the petitions. Asserting that women were persons and had as much right to vote as men did, he said, "I know very well what course the Convention will take in this matter, and I know very well what answers I will receive, if I receive any. Sir, I call for arguments, not phrases. I profess, sir, to stand on Democratic ground and would like to hear any Democrat rise up here and say that he believes the doctrine set forth in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights, and at the same time say that he will deny women the exercise of their right to vote." Before the petitions were quietly shelved, Edward L. Keyes gave Rev.

Mr. Greene the courtesy of a reply. Readily owning that women had the right to vote, Mr. Keyes asserted that the Convention could not make the mistake of allowing women to "enter into conflict with men, in political and governmental affairs . . . that softness and delicacy of character, and those bland enchantments which bind the world in silken chains, would be lost, and lost forever. . . ." (laughter!)

Article Two (Chapter Nine) was a step towards the modern secret ballot. It required that all ballots, then printed and distributed by the various parties, should be sealed in envelopes supplied by the Commonwealth before being placed in the ballot box. The Coalition Legislature of 1851 had made such a system law in an effort to protect industrial and business employees from compulsion by their employers but the Whig Legislature of 1853 had repealed the business, alleging that the secret ballot was an insult to the manhood of the laboring portion of the voters! Debate upon the Article was similar to this allegation. The Convention was requested to trust the people and leave conditions as the Whig Legislature had restored them; a minister, Rev. Samuel Lothrop of Boston, no less, made this plea. The supporters of the change put up Shubael P. Adams of Lowell who declared to his own knowledge that, during the election of 1848, a Presidential year, the Lowell ballot boxes were constantly supervised by "overseers of a certain political stripe" who scrutinized the ballots being cast by employes of the mills and forced the workers to change their vote, if it was not as ordered, under threat of being discharged. Under this barrage of "personal knowledge" the Article, of course, carried.

Article Three, for the first time in the history of the State, made mandatory the registration of voters.

Article Four, another practically unopposed item, changed the practice of having State and National elections a week apart in November and made them both come on the same day.

The next four articles, however, were very much debated. The Conservative opposition nicknamed them the "Plurality Patch-up"! The Old Constitution required that a candidate secure a majority in order to be elected. As long as there were but two major parties in the field, this was no hardship but, during the preceding few years, a third party was often strong enough to keep either major party from obtaining anything but a plurality with the result that several close elections were confused. Often this resulted in the General Court being compelled to elect the Governor and repeated ballotings for other officers were a nuisance, a delay and an expense. In one

instance, no less than twelve ballots were taken before a candidate was elected and, even more extreme, one Congressional District, because it could not give any candidate a majority, finally went unrepresented for an entire session of Congress. Thus the substitution of a plurality system for the old majority scheme had been hotly agitated for some time. In fact, it was one of the major reasons for holding the Third Constitutional Convention and the delegates had every right to believe that they were sent to the State House to make the necessary change in the election laws. However, the Coalition Party in the 1851 and 1852 elections had won some of their victories because of the majority law and thus, forgetting that in most other details they were liberal and reformers, they displayed a sudden affection for the old system and left it to the Conservatives to advance the plurality scheme.

The Convention's committee on elections, of which Henry W. Bishop of Lenox was chairman, brought in a report favoring the plurality system. After debate, the motion was referred to another committee, this one headed by Benjamin F. Butler and other gentlemen of that ilk. This second committee reported the article in about the form in which it was submitted to the people. An attempt was made to substitute the original report for this second one, but the motion was lost by one vote, President Banks declaring against the substitution and turning the 159-159 tie to Butler. In essence Chapter Nine proposed the plurality system for Councillors, Senators and County officers but maintained the old majority system for all other elective officers. It was a compromise or, as convention debaters labelled it, a "plurality patch-up." Commented Delegate Josiah G. Abbott (see the third volume of the Debates for other comments) "You talk to me about principle, when you have given up all principle, and all that you have got in exchange is something to go into the legislature and trade upon. That is so apparent that it sticks out in every direction; the lion's skin is not a quarter large enough to cover something that I will not give any name to."

The Tenth Chapter was adopted without any difficulty. It simply repeated the material in the existing Constitution in regard to oaths, qualifications of office, writs and commissions and made other very minor changes.

The militia occupied Chapter Eleven. At the time the military arm of the State was in a very low estate and the delegates attempted to raise the volunteers' spirits by strengthening them and popularizing

them. It provided, among other things, "All citizens of this Commonwealth liable for military service . . . shall be enrolled in the militia, and held to perform such military duty as by law may be required." Another provision would have every officer, from the grandiose major-generals right down the line, elected by the vote of officers the next grade below in the military unit or units concerned. That is the sort of thing lawyers and farmers and merchants would think up to "help" the military.

Chapter Twelve would have replaced Chapter Five of the existing Constitution—the one concerned with Harvard University. Naturally the College was given the overhauling usual when its critics have an opportunity and the Chapter designed to guard the college funds against misappropriation, while a section was devoted solemnly to avow that the General Court had a right to change the privileges and powers given by charter to the Corporation "provided the obligation of the contract shall not be impaired."

And the final chapter of the proposed Constitution accomplished several things. One Article repeated the Ninth Amendment of the existing Constitution, the one providing for amendments to the Constitution. Another Article provided for a special constitutional referendum on the district system of apportionment for Legislative purposes in 1856. And other articles provided that a general vote on the question of summoning a new Constitutional Convention might be ordered by the General Court every twenty years or anytime at the request of towns and cities who numbered at least a third of the voters of the Commonwealth.

But these alterations of the existing Constitution only took care of thirty five of the points of revision which the Convention had determined. There were seven other still uncared for. These were made into seven extra propositions and embodied several highly explosive as well as controversial subjects. One was concerned with writs of habeas corpus, the traditional writ of English common law. Another would have juries in criminal cases determine the law as well as pass upon the evidence. Two others essayed to develop the incorporation statutes of the State—a business in which the Commonwealth has been a pioneer and a leader. And yet another forbade imprisonment for debt. Finally, one forbade appropriations for sectarian schools—a religious curtailment accompanied by the traditional difficulties.

George W. Blagden, speaking for the sub-committee on the sectarian proposition explained that it was offered for the purpose of ending

demands by certain religious sects for tax money to support denominational schools. Francis W. Bird proposed that colleges as well as schools be included in the prohibition. Charles W. Upham deprecated the proposal on the grounds that, since the public schools of the State were in fact more or less sectarian, the amendment might cause considerable damage to all schools. The motion was adopted and then it was moved that the Convention reconsider. The debate upon reconsideration was more vivid than the original speechmaking. Ben Butler, among others, argued that the amendment would be resented as unfair to Catholics who, upon conscientious grounds, felt it wrong to send their children to the public schools. Francis W. Crowninshield of Boston answered, "I can assure these gentlemen, their Catholic friends are not to be caught by such chaff as this. Gentlemen have sat in their seats while this provision has passed through all its stages to its final passage, and no voice was raised against it. And now . . . a violent agitation is gotten up against the resolution, and it is insisted that it must be expunged!" The motion failed of reconsideration by 87 to 183.

Monday, August 1, was the last day of the Third Convention. The entire document was read and debates began with severe criticism leveled against the work. The opposition centered about including 35 points in a new Constitution and leaving seven to be submitted separately. Why not all included? Why not all separated? Boutwell led the defense and explained that it was desired to offer "an intelligible and systematic organic law" and that the 35 necessary items had been therefore included in a new constitution while the seven desired changes, as not being necessary, were left separate. Finally, when the delegates upheld the action as proposed, Governor Morton delivered a speech which was the Convention's swan song. In part, he said "I fear . . . we have somewhat forgotten the mission upon which we were sent to this house . . . I fear that, while we profess democracy, and a love of the people, we have acted upon an opposite principle. Distrust of the people is stamped on almost every act. . . . The Committee have told us that their main desire, in putting the amendments together in this shape, was to preserve the symmetry and harmony of the instrument, and the beauty and orderly arrangement of the pamphlet to be published. I am afraid the gentlemen delude themselves as to the real cause which has induced them to adopt this course. I am bound to believe that the gentlemen are sincere. . . . But if they will look at the matter

a little more disinterestedly, they will perceive how very difficult it will be to make outsiders believe it, and to prevent them from judging that, in order to carry some favorite but objectionable scheme, all the popular measures have been connected with it, in order to induce the people to vote for it, and thus to give it the force of a popular adoption, while it may be that a majority of them are opposed to it. They may possibly adopt the language of one of the committee, on another occasion, and say: 'The lion's skin is not big enough—not half big enough, to conceal that other animal, which I will not name.' His ears are in full view."

The vote upon the labors of the Convention was scheduled for the regular State election, November 11, 1853. The propaganda and plain campaigning which ensued were at once the liveliest and bitterest that any constitutional legislation ever received up to that time. Newspapers were brimmed with the controversy and speakers and the pamphlet press thundered and rumbled constantly. The entire Whig party tossed its strength against ratification and they were supported by many Free Soilers who "took a walk" from their former partisanship. Dana, Boutwell, Hallett and Wilson led the Democrats and remaining Free Soil leaders in defense.

But everything was rejected. The Constitution itself went down 63,222 to 68,150. And the seven amendments suffered similarly, although some of them had narrower margins of defeat. For instance, the sectarian proposal was lost by but 401 votes. The result, although governed by many, doubtless obscure and involved factors, was mainly a demonstration that the Commonwealth had finally and definitely turned from an agricultural majority to an industrial one. After all, the question was fundamentally not conservatism against liberalism but city against country, industry against agriculture.

However, in defeat, the Convention was justified because, in the years which followed, under the Ninth Amendment to the still existing constitution, many of the proposed changes were adopted by the General Court. The Convention, in failure, was a school of political philosophy, which taught its lessons, even if it was unable to put them into practice. Five such amendments were adopted at a special election on May 23, 1855—the adoption of the plurality system, the moving of the State Election date to coincide with the National date, the popular election of State Councillors, the prohibition of appropriation of tax money for sectarian schools, the popular election of county officials with a three year term and the prompter organization of the State Government after the opening of the political year.

And on May 1, 1857, three other amendments were ratified—a literary qualification for the franchise, the extension of the district system to the Senate and the provision of a House of 240 members, apportioned decennially according to the number of voters, in districts not electing more than three representatives each. And other reforms suggested by the Third Convention, such as the secret ballot and the registration of voters were made law by the direct process of legislative enactment.

Since 1857, fifteen other constitutional amendments were added—up to the period of the fourth constitutional convention. These included the last in 1915 substituting an income tax for the general property tax. Others were similar invasions, according to conservative interpretations, of the old ideals of the Founding Fathers, but, in general, it may be literally stated that Massachusetts, as exemplified in her Constitution and the amendments thereto, has been genuinely conservative while not reactionary. Other states may have better constitutions but most of them have included principles and applications of principles, such as limitation of judicial terms of office during decent behavior, which the Commonwealth still maintains she does not need or desire. In general, the Commonwealth has shown the wish to keep the fundamental, the constitutional law, unchanged, and to create reforms and to correct abuses and to modernize the statutes by means of statutory enactments alone.

CHAPTER XL

The State in the Civil War

In keeping with the purpose of this history, as well as in regard to its limitations, this chapter is not particularly concerned with the military, or naval, history of the Civil War. That relation properly belongs to a history of the Nation, not one of the Commonwealth. Thus, although Massachusetts did play a very prominent part in the War, not only in furnishing soldiers for the army, sailors for the navy, and financial aid to the treasury but in supplying civic and executive leadership to the Federal Government, our present purpose is briefly to consider only the history of the State itself during the four year period from April, 1861, to the surrender of Lee in Virginia and of Johnston in North Carolina in 1865.

CONDITION OF THE STATE IN 1860

In 1860, Massachusetts had a population of 1,231,066. Civically, it was divided into fourteen counties and three hundred and thirty-five cities and towns. Financially, the Commonwealth was practically free of debt and its aggregate valuation of taxable property was about nine hundred million dollars. Its military establishment was that of the militia which, totalling 155,389 men, on paper, had an active force of 5,593 men, organized into three divisions and six brigades; nine regiments and three battalions of infantry; three battalions and eight unattached companies of riflemen; one battalion and five unattached companies of cavalry. Officers and men alike supplied their own uniforms while the State furnished arms and equipment to enlisted men but not to the officers. Arms included seventy-one field pieces of various calibre and about ten thousand muskets, "twenty-five hundred of which were of the most approved pattern of the Springfield rifled musket, which, as a muzzle-loading arm, is the best in the world."

OPINION IN THE STATE IN 1860-61

The addresses of two governors give a definite picture of the attitude of the people of the Commonwealth towards the war clouds which gathered as Abraham Lincoln was elected president.

Governor Nathaniel P. Banks (later the distinguished general and senator), in retiring from office, January 3, 1861, said, in discussing the secession ordinance of South Carolina, "While I would not withhold from the South what belongs to that section, I cannot consent that we should yield what belongs to us. The right to Territories so far as the people are concerned, must be a common right; and their status should be determined upon the rights of men, and not upon privileges of property. . . . There is no species of property entitled to such protection as will exclude men from Territories, aside from all considerations of property. Neither do I believe that a geographical line will give peace to the country. The lapse of time alone will heal all dissensions. There can be no peaceful secession of the State. The Government has pledged its faith to every land, and that pledge of faith cannot be broken. . . . But no such result can follow as the destruction of the American Government. The contest will be too terrible, the sacrifice too momentous, the difficulties in our path are too slight, the capacity of our people too manifest, and the future too brilliant, to justify foreboding, or to excite permanent fears. The life of every man is strengthened by trial; and the strength of every government must be tested by revolt and revolution. I doubt not that the providence of God, that has protected us hitherto, will preserve us now and hereafter."

General Banks expressed the fond hope of the people of Massachusetts that war would not come; the very thought of fighting sister states was incredible.

Two days later, Governor John A. Andrew, an attorney, took office. Sharing the views of his predecessor of the danger and wickedness of a civil war but aware that war was imminent, in his inaugural address, he urged that the active militia be immediately expanded to include a large portion of the dormant force and requested all the executives of the other New England States to prepare to meet the approaching crisis. "For how otherwise," he asked, "in the possible contingencies of the future, can we be sure that Massachusetts has taken care to preserve the manly self-reliance of the citizens, by which alone, in the long run, can the creation of standing armies be averted, and the State also be ready, without inconvenient delay, to contribute her share of force in any exigency of public danger?"

Speaking in general of national conditions, Governor Andrew said, "Inspired by the same ideas and emotions which commanded the fraternization of Jackson and Webster on another great occasion of public danger, the people of Massachusetts, confiding in the patriotism of their

brethren in the other States, accept this issue, and respond, in the words of Jackson, 'The Federal Union; it must be preserved!'

"Until we complete the work of rolling back this wave of rebellion, which threatens to engulf the Government, overthrow democratic institutions, subject the people to the rule of a minority, if not of mere military despotism, and, in some communities, to endanger the very existence of civilized society, we cannot turn aside, and we will not turn back. It is to those of our brethren in the disaffected States, whose mouths are closed by a temporary reign of terror, not less than to ourselves, that we owe this labor, which, with the help of Providence, it is our duty to perform."

Thus Attorney Andrew expressed the feeling of the people that, if war did come, it would find the people of Massachusetts determined to preserve the Union. Everyone shared General Banks' hope that war would not come, but almost everyone agreed with Governor Andrew that it would be a war of duty.

Behind these official utterances, there were three parties, at least, in the State, so far as war was concerned. There was the conservative element who, regarding slavery as a great moral and political wrong, nevertheless considered war and disunion as a greater evil. Their views were aired on February 5th, 1861, in a mass meeting held in Faneuil Hall for the purpose of endorsing the compromise resolutions being discussed in Washington. J. Thomas Stevenson, chairman, speaking ably for a compromise said, "I would almost pray for a foreign war, that it might bind us again as one, and prevent the shedding of fraternal blood. I would give up everything but honor."

There was the more "leftist" party who would rather risk the evils of a civil war than compromise with the South. Their views were aired at a meeting held February 11th, in Cambridge City Hall, as a counterblast to the Faneuil Hall meeting. John G. Palfrey, speaking, said, "South Carolina has marshalled herself into revolution; and six states have followed her, and abandoned our government." Richard H. Dana, Jr., the speaker of the evening, spoke uncompromisingly against any secession from the Union and considered the South to be in a state of mutiny. "Hold to the faith of Massachusetts," he said and was wildly applauded.

The third party was that of the abolitionists. Small in number, they were powerful in eloquence, moral character and intelligence. Their hatred of slavery was chronic and they dragged the Federal Government down enthusiastically. "The Union was a covenant with Hell; therefore, they would break it." Speaking on the very evening that the news of the firing upon Fort Sumter reached Boston, the

party's great orator, Phillips, speaking in New Bedford, April 9th, concluded, by saying; "If the Administration provokes bloodshed, it is a trick,—nothing else. It is the masterly cunning of the devil of compromise, the Secretary of State. He is not mad enough to let these States run into battle. He knows that the age of bullets is over. If a gun is fired in Southern waters, it is fired at the wharves of New York, at the bank vaults of Boston, at the money of the North. It is meant to alarm. It is policy, not sincerity. It means concession; and in twelve months, you will see this Union reconstructed, with a constitution like that of Montgomery.

"New England may, indeed, never be coerced into a slave confederacy. But when the battles of Abraham Lincoln are ended, and compromises worse than Crittenden's are adopted, New England may claim the right to secede. And, sure as a gun is fired tonight at Fort Sumter, within three years from today you will see thirty states gathered under a Constitution twice as damnable as that of 1787. The only hope of liberty is fidelity to principle, fidelity to peace, fidelity to the slave. Out of that, God gives us nothing but hope and brightness. In blood there is sure to be ruin."

THE CALL FOR TROOPS

On April 15th, Governor Andrew received a telegram from Washington, ordering fifteen hundred men sent to the capital immediately. The clattering of the telegraph receiver started the beating of the drums. Accordingly, the Governor ordered the Third Regiment at New Bedford, the Fourth at Quincy, the Sixth at Pepperell, and the Eighth at Lynn, to "muster on Boston Common forthwith in compliance with a requisition made by the President of the United States; the troops are to go to Washington."

As if by magic, the character of the State changed on the instant; "from a peaceful, industrious community, it became a camp of armed men; and the hum of labor gave place to the notes of fife and drum.

"It is impossible to overstate the excitement which pervaded the entire community through this eventful week. The railroad depots were surrounded with crowds of people; and the companies as they arrived, were received with cheers of grateful welcome. Banners were suspended, as if by preconcerted arrangement. The American flag spread its folds to the breeze across streets, from the masts of vessels in the harbor, from the cupola of the State House, the City Hall, in front of private dwellings; and men and boys carried miniature flags in their hands or on their hats. The horse-cars and express-wagons were decked

with similar devices; and young misses adorned their persons with rosettes and ribbons, in which were blended the national red, white and blue. In the streets, on 'Change and sidewalk, in private mansion and in public hotel, no topic was discussed but the approaching war, the arrival and departure of troops, and measures best adapted for their comfort and welfare. Everyone was anxious to do something and in some way to be useful. Young men, wishing to raise new companies and proffer services, pressed to the offices of the Governor and the Adjutant-General. These offices, the rotunda, and the passages leading to the State House, were filled with zealous and determined people. Faneuil Hall, Boylston Hall, the Old Colony Railroad Depot Hall, where companies were quartered, had each its mass of excited spectators. Every train which arrived at Boston brought in relatives, friends and townsmen of the soldiers, to say a kind word at parting, to assure them that their families would be well cared for while they were absent and to add to the general enthusiasm and excitement. . . . The Boston banks offered to lend the State three million six hundred thousand dollars, without any security for repayment, but faith in the honor of the Legislature when it should meet. They also offered the Secretary of the Treasury to take Treasury notes to the full extent of their power. The banks in other parts of the State made offers of loans equally generous in accordance with their capital. Gentlemen of the learned professions showed the same liberal and patriotic spirit."

While the four regiments called to Boston were preparing with all diligence for immediate departure, Washington ordered more troops on April 16th, together with a brigadier general to command them. The Fifth Regiment was accordingly called into service and Brigadier General Benjamin F. Butler was detailed to command.

Meanwhile, offers to raise new companies were pouring in and, in a month, 159 applications "were granted to responsible parties for leave to raise companies. In nearly every instance, the application was signed by the requisite number of men for a company. These applications came from every part of the Commonwealth, and represented all classes, creeds, and nationalities. The authorities of the several towns and cities acted with patriotic liberality toward these companies . . . In the aggregate, they numbered fully ten thousand men eager for orders to march."

It was originally planned to send the troops from Boston to Washington by sea via Annapolis but, although John M. Forbes had provided steamers in readiness, the Secretary of War ordered them sent by rail, "They will arrive quicker, the route through Baltimore is now open." Accordingly, the Sixth Regiment was at once sent on by rail.

The Third Regiment, destined for Fortress Monroe, sailed on the 17th and arrived in Virginia on the 20th. The Fourth Regiment also left on the 17th, by rail to Fall River, by boat to New York and thence to Virginia. The Sixth Regiment went by rail to New York on the 17th and was followed by the Eighth the next day and joined the Sixth in Philadelphia. The Fifth Regiment was detained until the 21st but it got away and went to New York by rail and thence southward by transport.

As the regiments were thus put into service, the news of the attack upon the Sixth Regiment in Baltimore reached the State and created an intense feeling. The Sixth, though it gained the "honor" of having been the first to reach Washington, and the first to sacrifice life, lost four of its members in the riot, and had thirty six more wounded. Coming as the riot did on the 19th of April, it drew to itself the lustre of that memorable day, a lustre which spread all the more over the nation when it was learned that soldiers in the regiment were descendants of the patriots of Lexington and Concord. And, if the shots fired at Concord were "heard 'round the world," so did the blood-shed of the Sixth arouse the North to the sober fact that War was indeed come at last.

MORE TROOPS

The shedding of the first blood deeply moved the people of Massachusetts. Patriotic meetings were held everywhere. In some towns the people were called together by the ringing of church bells; in others by the town crier. Opening with prayer, the meetings featured addresses by the oldest and most venerable inhabitants, particularly the veterans of the War of 1812, who had succeeded to the place of honor once occupied by the veterans of the Revolution. "The Union, one and inseparable, and how Massachusetts could best serve it, were the themes which inspired them all. Large sums of money were subscribed and paid . . . The women formed aid societies to sew and knit and work for the absent soldiers and for their families at home. Young men formed military companies, and more companies were offered than the government would receive; and more articles of clothing and stores of provisions than the men required."

The enthusiasm was well timed, for on May 3, word came from Washington that the President had issued a call for forty regiments of three year troops. Massachusetts had about ten thousand men ready for service and Governor Andrew at once offered as many as were needed to Washington but it was not until May 22nd, that

Washington replied and "allowed" the State to supply six regiments of three year men.

These were the First, of Cambridge, which left June 17th; the Second, of West Roxbury, which left July 8; the Seventh of Taunton, which left July 11th, the Ninth of Boston, which left June 24; the Tenth of Western Massachusetts, which left July 25th; and the Eleventh of Boston, which went on June 24th. These six regiments, which were organized, armed, equipped and forwarded within a month, were all that Washington would accept, despite Governor Andrew's plea that more be taken, Washington replied, "It was important to reduce rather than to enlarge this number."

But, shortly, as even Washington began to appreciate that the war was serious and would be long drawn out, word was sent to Boston that ten more regiments would be accepted in due time—and, from then on, the Commonwealth was constantly called upon for men and more men. Governor Andrew called a special session of the Legislature and thus organized the entire State, politically as well as martially, for the defense of the Union.

When the job was completed, within six months, Massachusetts' men under arms totaled twenty seven thousand officers and men plus enough sailors and naval officers to make the total 41,294—all in six months' time.

GOVERNOR ANDREW RE-ELECTED

The election of governor, and other state officers in November, clearly indicated that the State was enthusiastically behind its war executive. Andrew received the Republican nomination without a contest. At the Democratic convention, his name was also proposed but, as the Convention felt that it could not properly nominate a Republican, Isaac Davis of Worcester was placed at the head of the ticket. However, the campaign was not warm and Andrew led his party by 65,261 votes to Davis' 31,264 and the new Legislature was remarkable in that it was unanimously composed of men in favor of the vigorous defense of the Union.

THE WAR IN EARNEST

Although, in the first six months of 1862, 4,587 more men were enlisted in the Commonwealth and sent to the front, and together with the number previously raised, were serving the Union upon every battle field of the War, on July 4th, the State was asked for 15,000 more men. However, the spirit of the State was unflagging and recruiting went forward with great enthusiasm and the State was

bitterly chagrined when, with the quota filled, the Commonwealth was ordered to supply 19,090 men by "draft." The Commonwealth was opposed, upon principle to the business of forced enlistment and, although the machinery was set up in accordance with War Department Orders and the wheels put into motion, the Commonwealth's quota was again filled by voluntary enlistment as before.

Governor Andrew wrote to President Lincoln, ". . . If you will call upon me, for our quota of militia . . . asking for so many regiments, we can answer the call, in great part, without a draft, by sending our militia regiments already organized, and being filled up, and by recruiting new ones. The iron is hot; strike quick. Drafting is mechanical: the impulse of patriotism is vital and dynamic. . . . Our people want nothing to spur them, but assurance from Washington that the enemy shall be conquered, and right vindicated at all hazards by our arms. They will go, if the flag may but advance with all the principles it symbolizes. The enemy has spurned constitutional rights, and chosen belligerent rights. Let them have one or the other, but not both. They, having elected the latter, let us give them full measure. Give us the grand inspiration of duty to country, human nature and God, and the people are heroic, invincible, and always ready."

Despite the reverses of the Army of the Potomac, in which, as at the battle of Antietam, the Massachusetts' regiments suffered very greatly, recruiting continued briskly throughout the year of 1862, the disasters stimulating rather than depressing enlistment. The Commonwealth was conspicuous for its buoyant and gallant spirit.

The annual election for State officers, saw Governor Andrew again heading the Republican ticket and opposed by Brigadier General Charles Devens, Jr., candidate of an irregular union of Democrats and disaffected Republicans. Devens was a brave officer and an attractive personality but, Governor Andrew was secure in the affection of the majority of the State's citizens and the election reseated him by 79,835 votes to Devens' 52,587.

The year closed, December 31st, 1862, with the Commonwealth having in service 53 regiments of infantry and companies in other arms of the military service to the number of 69,736 men. In addition, the naval forces of the United States contained 13,618 sailors.

Incidentally, and a point of controversy with Washington, Massachusetts and the rest of the New England States, who did far more than their share in manning and officering the United States Navy, received no credit for these sailors when it came to Washington fixing the proportionate number of men demanded for the defense of the Union. Thus, the Bay State, and the rest of the New England States,

particularly Maine, child of the Commonwealth, furnished far more man power proportionately, than did inland States. This unfair situation was not remedied until 1864 when Congress passed an act allowing credits for men serving in the Navy.

THE THIRD YEAR

The proclamation freeing the slaves had been received with enthusiasm in Massachusetts and the Commonwealth, with characteristic promptness, was the first to employ the newly freed men as soldiers to fight for the Union. On January 26th, authority was received from Washington by Governor Andrew to recruit colored men in Massachusetts and the regiment was filled so rapidly by enthusiastic negro men that a second regiment was raised. The two were the 54th and 55th. The Secretary of War, having prohibited the commissioning of colored men as officers, Governor Andrew was compelled to abandon his plans for an all black fighting force and accordingly commissioned Captain Robert G. Shaw, of the Second Massachusetts Infantry, a gentleman connected by blood and marriage with the oldest families of the State, Colonel of the troops and, Captain Edward N. Hallowell, a captain in the Twelfth Regiment, as lieutenant colonel.

These two colored regiments represent one of the most interesting developments of the Civil War. Colored men were not allowed to join the State militia or to enlist in the regular service. Though Governor Andrew and members of his staff, were strong advocates of the experiment, probably the majority of the State regarded the project with mixed feelings and prominent men not only publicly opposed the plan but expressed hope that it would fail. As an example of the prejudice existing against the two regiments, the city of New York requested them to parade through that city on the way to service in South Carolina but this request was refused because the Massachusetts officials feared that a riot might be occasioned.

But, once raised, the martial spirit of the negroes won the favor of Boston and, when the 54th left the city on May 28th, it was given a great ovation upon Boston Common. The 55th was similarly honored when it left on June 21st. All prejudice against the black soldiers vanished when, on July 18th, the 54th led the advance at Fort Wagner and acquitted itself most gallantly. Colonel Shaw was killed in this battle and his body was not found. Charleston papers reported that the Yankee was buried "with his niggers"—which fact the journals considered fittingly indecent.

Although the Federal Government accepted the colored regiments, for more than a year Washington refused to issue pay orders to the

same amount as to white soldiers, and Massachusetts accordingly, at the 1863 session, appropriated funds to make up the difference.

The defenseless condition of Boston Harbor had, from the very first, caused the Commonwealth great concern. Hardly a month elapsed but what Governor Andrew protested to Washington about conditions. The State Legislature had appropriated a million and a half dollars for coast defenses, which were not undertaken because of protests of the War Department and the Navy Department, both of which claimed they would provide adequately for New England's defense in case of need and that anything the Commonwealth proposed to do would interfere with their plans.

On April 27, 1863, Governor Andrew wrote personally to the President, requesting at least the detail of an iron-clad war vessel for New England's protection, claiming that the forts of Boston Harbor were only twenty percent completed according to specifications of the War Department and that the New England coast itself was entirely without protection. In May a letter was received in answer from the Secretary of the Navy, saying that no such vessel was available.

The fears of the State were aggravated by alarms of a possible war with England and the agitation for the protection was continued. The State Legislature appropriated \$250,000 for the purchase of heavy artillery and sent an agent to London to purchase the rifles but little was done.

By the middle of the year, the War Department figures, being published, brought home to the State the seriousness of the war: Massachusetts had lost 924 men by death and 785 by desertion.

This desertion has been considered as discreditable to the State—although it was by no means proportionately larger than that of any of the other States. The fact seems to be that the desertions were brought about by a peculiar condition—that of paying bounties to men to enlist. Neither the State nor the United States, at this time, paid bounties, but towns and cities, in some cases, did. These ranged from fifty dollars to five hundred but averaged about two hundred. As is usually the case when money is involved, trickery developed. Agencies sprang up which, for a certain varying sum (as much as the traffic would bear), undertook to supply any town and city wanting soldiers, with the required number. A commission obtained, the agency would recruit men outside of the state, deliver them to concentration camps and collect their fee. Then the men, who, having received their bounty and being in collusion with the agents, were satisfied, promptly deserted and were available to fill the quotas of any other town wishing to buy them. Some of these professional deserters were caught, but the

great majority continued to practice this lucrative trade for some time and their success is reflected in the relatively high number of deserters blackmarked against the Commonwealth.

Interestingly enough, later on, the State Legislature reimbursed the towns and cities for these bounty payments, the appropriation being \$2,300,921.

The disgraceful riot in New York in July, 1864 was followed by a milder essay at lawlessness in Boston on the night of July 14th. A mob assembled before the Armory of the 11th Battery in Cooper Street, and attacked the building with stones. The building housed large amounts of military supplies, including rifles and ammunition. Finally, when it became evident that the mob would shortly break open the doors, the handful of soldiers on duty inside were ordered to fire into the throng. Some were killed, many were wounded—the number was not learned—but the rioters fled in dismay and the riot died away after feeble demonstrations in Dock Square and around Faneuil Hall later on.

The immediate cause of the outbreak was the putting into effect of the United States Draft Law. Under the leadership of Major Clark, U. S. A., boards were established to list all men in the State between the ages of twenty and forty-five. A total of 164,178 were enrolled and, of these, 32,079 were selected by lot and organized on paper. Only 6,690 were ever called upon to serve and, of these, only 743 actually joined the service, (22,343 being exempted, 3,044 failing to report and 2,325 procuring substitutes, while 3,623 paid commutation, which amounted in the gross to \$1,850,080).

The whole number of draftees sent into service was 3,068. Of them, 124 deserted and 73 were colored.

There was no reason whatever for drafting in Massachusetts, as the State had always overfilled any quotas given her by voluntary enlistment, filled all further calls made and came out of the war with a surplus of 13,083 men—four times as many as were actually drafted into the service.

With all the war business running at full steam, Massachusetts in the fall had to take time out for its annual state election. Governor Andrew, of course, received the Republican nomination. The Democratic party, recognizing that, as was natural after three years of war, that dissatisfaction with the policies of the national government was growing, hoped by a special effort to gain control of the State and the most enthusiastic convention the party had held in years, nominated Henry W. Paine. But the election dispelled any hopes the Democratic party had of changing the reins of government in the State. Gov-

ernor Andrew received 70,483 votes; Paine 29,207. Andrew's majority of 41,199, was the largest he had ever received in any election.

On October 17th, the President's call for 300,000 volunteers was received and Massachusetts was asked for 15,126 men. The Legislature, meeting, acted by raising the State bounty to volunteers from \$50 to \$325 to each volunteer—volunteers already in the service to receive this sum also upon reenlistment at expiration of their service. This bounty payment was increased because, for the first time, it became difficult to obtain men freely. Business was in a highly prosperous condition, wages were high and labor was in great demand. Thus, to avoid any extension of the detested draft, the State bounties were provided to increase enlistment.

During the year, 11,536 three-year men were enlisted making the aggregate total of the citizens of Massachusetts in the Army (April 16, 1861 to December 30, 1863), 83,932. Sailors enlisted in the Navy from the State during the year to the number of 3,868, making the Naval aggregate for the State, 22,360. Thus, when the War entered its fourth year, Massachusetts had furnished both arms of the service 101,236 men.

THE FOURTH YEAR

The fourth year saw the end of bloodshed approaching. General Grant was in supreme command and the final triumphant advance of Union arms was begun. Massachusetts sent forward several thousand men for replacements in her regiments as well as four new infantry regiments and two of cavalry. In July five "hundred-day regiments" were formed as well as nine unattached companies for coast defense detail, which were not credited to the State's military quota. Also, during the year, 3,808 more men enlisted in the Navy, making a total of 26,168.

Being a presidential election year, interest in the annual State election was intensified. Governor Andrew, of course, headed the Republican ticket and Henry W. Paine the Democratic. The result of the election demonstrated how, after four years of war, the State was behind the Union. President Lincoln received 126,742 votes, McClellan 48,745—Lincoln's majority, 77,997. Governor Andrew was given 125,281 votes: Henry W. Paine, 49,190—Andrew's majority 76,091 votes—a remarkable endorsement of a public servant.

THE END OF THE WAR

Eighteen sixty-five opened with widespread confidence; not only soldiers in service but farmers and tradesmen felt the elation of

approaching victory. And, when the news of the fall of Richmond arrived, the wildest enthusiasm prevailed. "Immense crowds gathered, business was suspended, grief was forgotten and city and State abandoned all to rejoicing." But, only a little later, the Commonwealth was called upon to mourn the assassination of Lincoln. Thus grief was mixed with joy—grief which grew as the regiments came marching home and sadness prevailed in home after home, side by side with those to which returning father and son brought sunshine. About one man in ten was killed, died of wounds or as a prisoner.

The total number of men supplied by the State, from the official report of the Adjutant General was 159,165—three-months' men, 3,736; three-year men, 96,270; one-year men, 4,728; nine-months' men, 16,685; one-hundred-day men, 5,461; ninety-day men, 1,209 and, naval service, 26,163; plus 4,913 enlisted during 1865.

Financially, the record of the State was worthy of pride. Governor Andrew fixed the State's payments at \$27,705,109, exclusive of payments made by cities and towns. Massachusetts paid her bills promptly; she kept faith with every creditor.

CHAPTER XLI

The Quarter Century after the Civil War

From the standpoint of social adjustment, of the gearing of its laws and institutions to rapidly shifting political and social changes, the twenty five years following the Civil War form one of the most important periods in the history of the Commonwealth. Politically, it was necessary for the State not only to do its share in Washington in reconstruction, in adjusting the war torn nation and newly freed slaves to harmony and citizenship (of a kind), but within its own borders to accomplish the political and legal changes required by the phenomenal development of industry and business, many new inventions, such as those of transportation and communication, and new discoveries in many forms of science. In fact, the quarter century saw the modern world being born and the change from old to new involved tremendous difficulties. Massachusetts, led by statesmen, triumphed over its problems and the year 1890 saw a new and better Commonwealth, a State far in the lead of its sister states, a state in which wise legislation and political leadership not only developed resources and institutions to a remarkable degree but which owned for citizens men and women in whom the old time philosophy of Yankee individualism found its highest expression.

Possibly the most significant aspect of the Commonwealth's politics was its firm and unswerving devotion to national issues; in effect, states' rights, about which so much was heard in the period leading up to the Civil War, were forgotten and the welfare of the United States as a nation was placed above that of the Commonwealth as a sovereign state in most instances. This characteristic entailed that the period was marked by the practical dominance of the Republican party. The Democratic party maintained its organization but, save for a few instances in which revolt within Republican ranks gave the Democrats the opportunity for a brief hour of power, the Democrats remained throughout in the minority, being continually upon the defensive and unable to advance their ideas of how the Commonwealth should be governed or developed. This is clearly understandable because Republi-

can power was welded firmly in the heat of the Civil War. During that struggle, everyone was united in the common determination to preserve the Union. The Constitution was no small thing to be set aside and thus everything was subordinated to the single objective of preserving it by forcing the seceding southern states back into line. Thus, when the war ended, the Democratic party found itself without honor for, not only was the Republican party in the saddle, due to its federal principles, but many former Democrats, attracted by affection for the United States, had deserted the Donkey for the Elephant.

Further, as Reconstruction followed War, the Republican party, having held the union together and freed the slaves, continued to gain strength by maintaining its principles through that trying period. Thus, the Democrats were in a sad way and, remained poverty stricken throughout the period. It is true that twice, they did elect a governor—Gaston in 1875 and Butler in 1883—but in each of the two instances, the General Court was Republican and thus the possession of the governor's chair benefited the Party but very little. And, throughout the period, in its national politics, whatever local dissatisfactions were, the Commonwealth was largely Republican and Massachusetts could always be found in Washington close behind in support, if not actively in the lead, of the federal government. That this attitude of the Commonwealth, this supporting of the growth away from sovereign States to a really strong central government in Washington, is important nationally, is an abstraction beyond this present work but it may be remarked that, from the viewpoint of this state, the growth of nationalism was the most important effect of the Civil War.

Of course, this development in the State's political philosophy was not immediately apparent. When the "boys came marching home" and reconstruction progressed to a sufficient degree to enable the defeated Southern States once again to take control of their own destinies, Massachusetts was perfectly content to mind her own business and allow the South to do as it pleased, provided that the Constitution—and the three amendments, the Thirteenth, the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth, which crystallized the results of the four years of bloodshed—was satisfactorily respected. There was plenty awaiting attention at home. There was woman suffrage, legacy, in part, of the Abolitionists. There was prohibition, there was labor legislation and other major issues and for minor interests, there were such things as education, police reorganization, public welfare, public health, railroads, highways, waterways, harbors, mental diseases, civil service, public utilities, doctors' and dentists' registration and regulation, sewers, prisons, the militia, municipal government, and many other mat-

ters. There was plenty to do at home and the Commonwealth went about its own business confident in its ability to govern its domestic concerns and adjust its difficulties satisfactorily.

INDORSEMENT OF LINCOLN

Just as the period began, while yet the War was under full steam, the Commonwealth demonstrated its soundness and sincerity by its behavior in the presidential election of 1864. Naturally, there was considerable discontent with affairs nationally. The draft was regarded as unwise in Massachusetts and created considerable indignation. The heavy drain in life and money also wearied everyone and when the Democratic party joined the Copperhead agitation and made a formal campaign issue out of proposal for immediate abandonment of fighting, they thought to capitalize the strong feeling of discontent with Lincoln's administration. The Republican party, also naturally, supported Lincoln in his position that the only permanent solution of the national problem was that of a peace accomplished by military victory. General McClellan, the candidate in opposition to Lincoln, was so hopeful of leading Massachusetts out of the Republican fold that he made a visit, and a famous one, to Boston. However, when the ballots were counted, it was apparent that the Commonwealth was as staunch as ever. Not only was the war governor, Andrew, reelected but Lincoln received 126,742 votes and McClellan but 48,745. This was not only a political victory but a moral one, and the triumphant Republicans felt secure in the saddle. The dreadful assassination of Lincoln, which followed, had an important effect in the Commonwealth in that it still further strengthened the Republican position, for many Democrats who had joined the Republican party under war hysteria, were so shocked at the murder of the President that they became permanently attached to the Lincoln Party—the Republican party.

This was shown in the State election of 1865 when, Andrew refusing to hold office again, the Republicans selected Alexander Bullock and elected him over the Democratic candidate, Darius Couch, and again in 1866 when Bullock was again successful over the Democratic nominee, Theodore Sweetser of Lowell. Yet again, in 1867, Republican Bullock was reelected over Democratic John Quincy Adams.

The next election was overshadowed by the presidential crisis. Andrew Johnson, vice-president, who succeeded Lincoln, was at first very severe against the South but soon changed his policy and became so favorable to the "rebels" that the North and particularly Massachusetts became out of sympathy with him. Eventually, the representatives of the Commonwealth, Senators Charles Sumner and Henry

Wilson and Representative Thaddeus Stevens, were openly hostile and loudly accused Johnson not only of hindering the reconstruction of the South but also of being a traitor to the Republican party.

The Republicans were so strongly entrenched in Congress that they controlled affairs, being able to override the Presidential veto and thus the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments were passed, Massachusetts ratifying the first unanimously and supporting the other two.

In 1867, the coming storm in Washington was presaged by the State's Republican platform which named Johnson as a "desperate and dangerous" person and demanded that the party's principles be supported and continued by the election of Republican candidates. The Democratic standards were blazoned with the old cries of States' Rights—thus ignoring Johnson. By 1868, Johnson's position was so extreme that it was no surprise when, led by Massachusetts, the House voted to impeach him for "high crimes and misdemeanors." George S. Boutwell, Massachusetts' Republican leader, was one of the most fiery opponents of Johnson and, as chairman of the impeachment committee, he reported the articles of impeachment and was active in the subsequent activity—which missed fire by but one vote.

Out of this impeachment business the Republican party emerged with General Grant as standard bearer, and he swept through to victory in Massachusetts with 136,379 votes against the Democratic candidate's (Horatio Seymour) 59,103 votes. With him, he carried the Republican's gubernatorial aspirant, William Claflin. Claflin received 68,000 votes more than did John Quincy Adams, Democrat, seeking the office for the second time. These two defeats did not at all discourage Adams. In 1869, he tried again, but was beaten by Republican Claflin by 23,000. In 1870, Adams once again contested with Claflin and lost by about 31,000 votes. And in 1871 Adams tried for the fifth time but the Republicans' standard bearer, William B. Washburn, downed him finally.

Claflin's administration is remarkable by his vetoing of Boston, Hartford and Erie Railroad and Hoosac Tunnel Bills and by his honest handling of the controversial public lands question in the matter of the harbor tidal flats, gubernatorial forcefulness which saved the Commonwealth from being looted of millions of dollars. His administration also saw a reorganization of the police power and of the prison system as well as some reforms in the school system, such as that one which permitted several towns to unite, if necessary, in employing a school superintendent. It was in Claflin's administration, too, that Boston University was chartered.

Washburn's administration was marked by the Great Boston Fire of November 9th, 1872, a conflagration which cost the citizens of the city about seventy millions of dollars, as it burned over some sixty odd acres of the very heart of the business and commercial centers. Washburn called a special session of the legislature which leaped to the aid of Boston by authorizing a bond issue of twenty million dollars. Unfortunately, the Supreme Court found the bill unconstitutional, but the prospect of help at least cheered the businessmen of Boston at the time when their spirits were as black as the embers of their office buildings, banks and warehouses. Washburn's General Court, during its regular session, enacted considerable legislation for the control of the railroads, particularly in regard to their extension. The Court also changed election day from immemorial Monday to Tuesday and reformed in various points the public welfare laws of the Commonwealth.

The next election, that of 1872, was also presidential year and all signs pointed to a very close contest. Graft, bribery and corruption were alleged to be so rampant in Washington that the Democrats were able to propagandize so successfully in the State that many voters gained the idea, or at least had the suspicion raised in their minds, that Republicanism was indelibly dyed with graft. Unquestionably, since the Republican party, in both State and Nation, had been long in power, it was tainted with corruption. That seems to be the fatal weakness of American political life, the party in power does suffer because of the weaknesses of some of its prominent but not principled men. Naturally, a good many loyal Republicans, who were good citizens, discovered the bribery, and loudly denounced it. This furnished ammunition for the Democrats to fire and they neglected no opportunity.

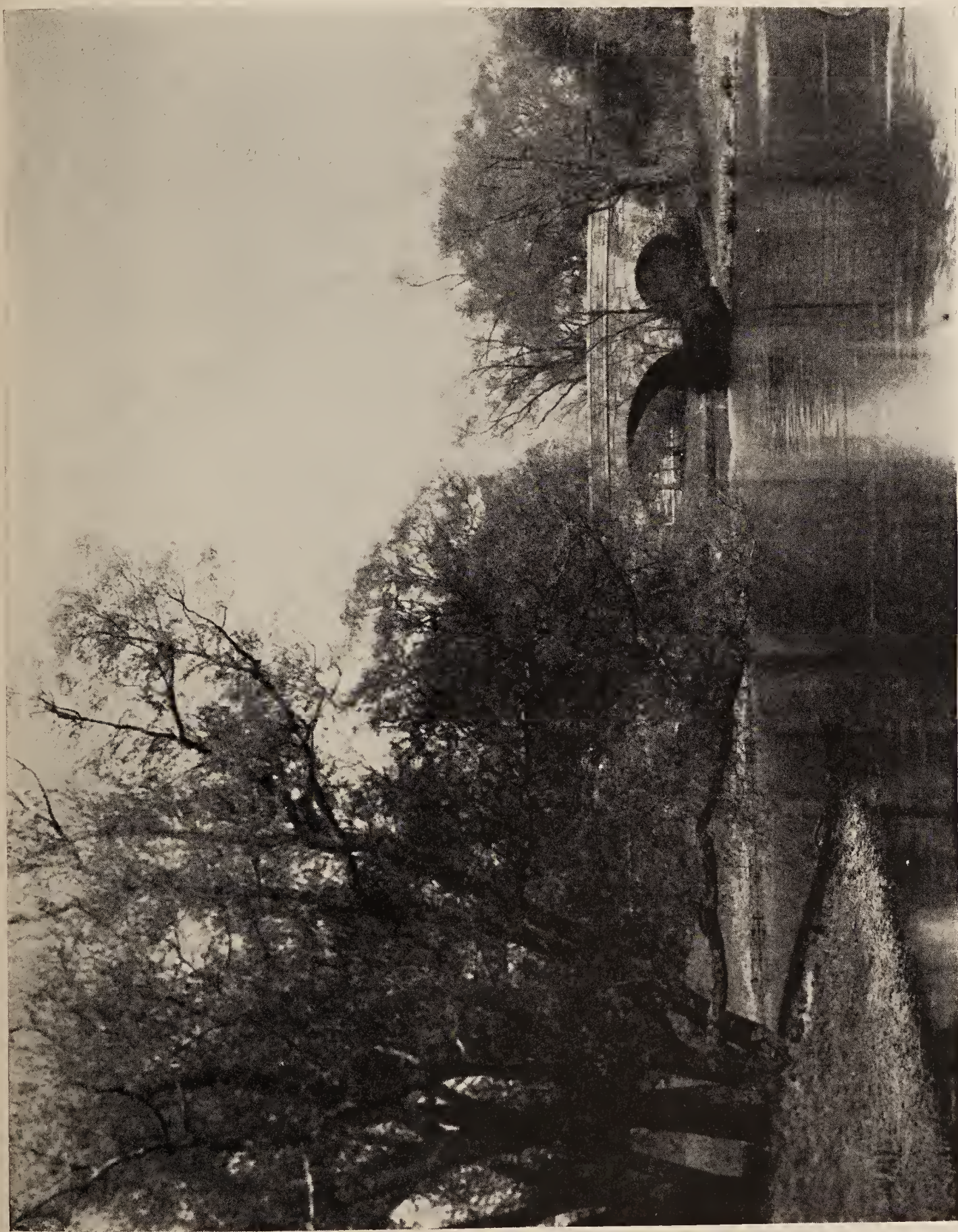
Probably Grant himself was honest enough, but many Republicans, particularly two Massachusetts' leaders, Senator Sumner and Charles Francis Adams, came to believe that the best interests of both the party and the nation would be served by selecting some candidate other than Grant. By 1871, it was clear, however, that Grant would be the candidate, and thus a large number of Republicans bolted, and an anti-Grant sub-party was formed under the title of Liberal Republicans. Democratic support was confidently anticipated and Charles Francis Adams was spoken of as a candidate who would not only draw Republican votes from Grant but would be supported by the Democrats themselves. Unfortunately for the Liberal Republicans, at this very time, Adams was appointed an arbitrator in the claims arising from the Alabama episode of the Civil War and it was necessary for him to sail to Europe to discharge his duties. This lost him the nomination and Horace Greeley, New York editor and Garrisonian denouncer of

the South, was given the nomination in addition to the Democratic accolade. However, despite the double standard, Grant decisively defeated Greeley.

In the Massachusetts campaigns, the anti-Grant, anti-corruption agitation split the Republican party into not two but three groups. There was the pure anti-Grant faction, headed by Sumner. There was the pure government group, of which Charles Francis Adams was a leader. And there was the old anti-slavery element, remnant of the Abolitionist enthusiasm. Hoping for victory, the Democratic Party eagerly united with the pure government group but, despite what they considered glowing opportunity, they did not fare very well. The regular Republican candidate, William B. Washburn, was elected governor by a large majority over the fusion candidate, Francis Bird, and the pure government Republicans themselves only won one seat in the state senate and five seats in the state house.

This election had unfortunate effects upon the career of several Massachusetts statesmen. Sumner, who, in opposing Grant, supported Greeley loudly, found himself with Grant as a bitter enemy with the result that, at the next Congressional Republican organization, Sumner was ousted from his seat as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, a position which the Senator had filled with distinction. Thus, in defeat, Sumner brought to a climax twenty years of public service—a career which, beginning with the abolition of slavery, had carried the great son of the Bay State to a commanding position in national and international affairs from which the White House was not an impossible step. Judge E. R. Hoar was another man who fell because of Grant's bitterness. The Judge resigned from the Massachusetts Supreme Court to be Grant's Attorney-General in 1869 but, after two years of service, Grant requested his resignation and thus a great jurist, a man of magnificent intelligence and broad abilities, fell out from the march which should have led him to the Supreme Bench of the Nation.

As an example of political organization existing between the Massachusetts professional politicians and Grant, the case of William A. Simmons is significant. Simmons, a wheelhorse of Benjamin F. Butler, who can be considered as being something of a political boss in Massachusetts of his time, was nominated in 1874 by Grant to be collector for the Port of Boston. Most of the leading men of the Republican Party in Massachusetts opposed Simmons. Governor Washburn, Sumner, and seven of the State's eleven representatives to Washington, arose in a storm of protest. Nevertheless, Grant calmly refused to withdraw the nomination and pushed through the man's confirmation. Thus did Grant follow the voice of Butler.



THE FENWAY, BOSTON

At the next State election, 1873, the Democratic Party, still hopeful that Grant's alleged corruption would alienate Republican support, selected William Gaston, as their ablest candidate. He had been mayor of Boston and was unquestionably both popular and fitted for office. Washburn was renominated by the Republicans and the struggle which followed was very closely contested. But, when the votes were counted, Washburn had again triumphed, although this time his margin was a mere 13,000 votes.

Washburn was beyond question an able executive. During his administration, the State debt was reduced, State finances were economically handled, new normal schools were put into operation and the penal system developed by the establishment of a reform "school" for women.

In March, 1874, Senator Sumner died and Governor Washburn received the vacant seat. Lieutenant-Governor Thomas Talbot took over the gubernatorial duties but aroused considerable dissatisfaction by vetoing a bill which would have nullified the Commonwealth's stringent liquor laws. In the election that fall, despite this unrest within the party, Talbot was nominated for reelection and his veto attracted the support of the new Prohibition Party. Nevertheless, the voters rejected him in favor of Democratic William Gaston, who became the first Democratic Governor in many years.

Since the Republicans continued to control the General Court and they as a party were known to favor a change in the liquor laws, and as Gaston had been opposed by the Prohibition Party, it was only to be expected that one of the features of Gaston's administration would be the repeal of the State's prohibition statute and the substitution of the local option law. Gaston was, however, not able to hold his seat for he lost it the next election by 5,000 votes to the Republican candidate, Alexander H. Rice.

Rice fared better than Gaston, he held his seat for three years, winning it even in the close contest of the 1876 Presidential election. This election bears the distinction of being the only presidential election ever questioned. James G. Blaine of Maine, probably the most important Republican of the time, entered the lists for the Republican nomination but lost it narrowly to Rutherford B. Hayes. The outcome was in large measure determined by Massachusetts' Henry Cabot Lodge fighting against him. Blaine had offended Massachusetts by criticising the anti-Constitutional attitude of the Commonwealth in the days of 1812, the days of the Embargo and the Hartford Convention. Tilden, the Democratic candidate, capitalized the growing discontent with Republican party political rule and the contest was very close. With

but three states missing, he found himself barely short of the number of electoral votes needed to elect him. When the returns from these States began to drift in, they apparently favored Hayes, and thus the Democrats, frantic over their fears of losing the first opportunity that they had in a generation of gaining control of the White House, raised loud shrieks of fraud; the Republicans, they alleged, were buying the returns from the three tardy States. To solve the problem, to quiet the intense excitement which prevailed everywhere, Congress appointed a special committee to decide the election. Five members of the Senate, five of the House and five of the Supreme Court were appointed and, voting eight to seven, Hayes was given the election.

In Massachusetts, Governor Rice defeated Charles Francis Adams, brother of John Q. Adams. Governor Rice is noteworthy for his advocacy of the two-year session plan for the Legislature, for his vetoing of the Hoosac Tunnel bill and for his backing of the 1876 Savings Bank Law, as well as for reforms in several of the Commonwealth's institutions. That Rice was a popular governor is displayed by the 1877 State election returns; Rice received 91,255 votes; the Democratic candidate, ex-Governor Gaston, and the two independent candidates of the Greenback and the Prohibition Parties, all together received but 93,199 votes.

Governor Rice was followed in the election of 1878 by another Republican. Thomas Talbot was elected over Benjamin Butler, who, though nominee of three of the six parties in the field, lost by some 25,000 ballots. Talbot is distinguished by his bringing about the banning of sales of stock in the New York and New England Railroad without the consent of the General Court, by other railroad control measures and by reform in the State's penal system.

In 1879, once more the Republicans won; John D. Long, Republican, beat the Democratic standard bearer, Benjamin F. Butler by more than 12,000 votes. In 1880, although a Presidential year, Long was reelected by a large majority over Democratic Charles P. Thompson without much contest, as he was the following year over the same Democratic aspirant, Thompson.

Benjamin F. Butler, for many years, had had ambitions to crown his career in politics with a term on Beacon Hill and in 1882 he launched a bitter campaign, as candidate of both the Democratic and Greenback parties. The Republicans offered the voters Robert Bishop, but they refused him and Butler climbed the Hill. His tenure of office was fated to be brief, but it was marked by one of the most quarrelsome administrations Boston has witnessed. The General Court was Republican and they fought and wrangled with Butler as zealously as

though it were politics and not the good of the Commonwealth for which they were elected. During the year, some forty bills became law without Butler's signature, and four others were signed by the lieutenant governor during Butler's absence. Butler was successful, however, in pushing legislation which had weight in bettering laboring conditions, but he was not signally fortunate in his advocacy of civil-service reform and feminine suffrage.

Positive by nature, belligerent by habit, Butler did not have an attractive personality, and in the following election he was defeated by 10,000 votes by the Republican nominee, George D. Robinson. The following year, disowned by the Democrats as a fallen star, he did obtain the nomination of the Greenback Party but received a trifling 24,000 vote. This defeat closed his career; he never again attained any political prominence.

Robinson proved to be a popular governor. In the 1884 election, which featured the defeat of Blaine by Cleveland, thus ending twenty-four years of Republican rule in the White House, Robinson held the state for his party, defeating the Democratic nominee, William C. Endicott, by some 48,000 votes. And, again, the following year, Robinson defeated Frederick Prince of Boston.

Governor Robinson's administration is noteworthy for civil service reform, the establishment of the State Board of Arbitration for the adjustment of troubles between capital and labor, the ordering that wages must be paid weekly in the State, the free text-book law and other laws concerning election management.

Robinson was followed by Oliver Ames who, for three years downed the candidates the Democrats offered against him. He defeated John Andrew, son of the Civil War Governor first, then Henry Lovering and, finally, in the presidential year of 1888, William E. Russell, Mayor of Cambridge. Ames, a successful manufacturer, saw legislation put through concerned with liquor, labor, insurance, railroads and education as the principal items.

In 1889, the last year of the twenty five year period, the Republicans displayed weakness but their candidate, J. Q. A. Brackett, defeated Mayor Russell by a few thousand votes.

LEADING ISSUES OF THE PERIOD

Following this survey of practical politics, the history of the period politically will not be complete without a more detailed view of the leading issues of the quarter century. Probably the most significant struggle was that with the railroads—or the battle between a public

utility and the investors concerned and the "common people." At a time when railroading was mushrooming everywhere in the United States, Massachusetts could not hope to escape being the hunting ground for fortune hunters but it is to the everlasting honor of the Commonwealth that scandals were fewer here and looting of public lands was far less successful than was the case in other States.

The problem of the railroads was (and is, for that matter) a complicated one. In the beginning, as the development of the steam engine, banished all other immemorial forms of transportation on land and sea, great expectations were entertained for the financial rewards of putting down rails which would connect the manufacturing centers of the Commonwealth with the seaports, and the dream was soon advanced of cutting through the Berkshire hills and thus drawing to Boston much of the golden grain of the West on its journey from the wheat fields to the tables of Europe.

Private enterprise, spurred by these hopes of profit, undertook to build the railroads but it was soon painfully clear that the capital investment required was so enormous and the maintenance costs so high that it was almost impossible for the roads to meet their interest obligations, let alone return legitimate profits. By 1870, with the major trunk lines of the Commonwealth completed, the situation was critical for, not only were the roads in financial deep waters but it was evident that their troubles were merely beginning.

As the railroads were public utilities, it was inevitable from the very beginning that tax money would be sought to help the roads along and in a series of clever and plausible campaigns on Beacon Hill, the people of the Commonwealth soon found themselves as a corporation engaged in the railroad business—for loans were made by the General Court to various railroad systems, as, for example, the Boston, Hartford and Erie (which connected Boston with New York and the Hudson); and the Fitchburg Railroad (which ran through to the Hudson by way of the Hoosac Tunnel). Interestingly, some of the roads to which the State loaned funds became insolvent even before construction work was completed and thus the Commonwealth was forced to throw good money after bad in advancing additional funds to finish the road building. This curious situation became dangerous (in the minds of many individualistic citizens) when, after the State completed the Hoosac Tunnel and completed the Troy and Greenfield line, it was discovered that in operating this system, the Commonwealth was actually in competition with privately owned roads.

To the folk of the time, this situation was perilous; the Commonwealth had no shadow of reason to engage in business, particularly in

a business which was in competition with private capital. So, shortly, the Commonwealth went out of the railroad enterprise, unloading all its holdings, including the Hoosac Tunnel.

However, with the State out of active railroading, the scandals which had taken place in Western Railroad building served one good purpose in convincing a sufficient number of Massachusetts folks that public utilities, although by right the business of private capital, could not be allowed to operate as they pleased. In essence, the utilities could operate only through gifts of sections and privileges of the public domain and thus they could and should be controlled. The resulting conflict between public and private interests was bitter at times but the Commonwealth, originating in 1869 the Board of Railroad Commissions, eventually evolved a means of utility control which does meet the situation satisfactorily at times.

Originally, this Board of Railroad Commissioners were given general supervision over railroads and street railways in that annual financial reports were required of each road, sales of stocks were controlled, rates of fares were determined, in a measure and squabbles between roads were arbitrated by the Board when their claims were in conflict. As the years went along, further powers were added to the Board's authority, such as the power to prevent rate fixing (which was a jolly system invented to discriminate between competitive companies and so force a weaker manufacturer to give way to a stronger competitor), and such as the authority to allow one railroad to consolidate with another. This Board existed for forty-four years and, to its credit, accomplished a great deal in controlling the railroads, so much so that, in 1913 it was reestablished with wider powers over all public utilities as the present Department of Public Utilities.

Another business of the State during this period was the reorganization of the voting systems. Formerly, each party printed its own ballots and, in the more or less chaotic methods of voting which prevailed, it was very much simpler of accomplishment to bribe, buy votes, exercise persuasion and even to practice intimidation. Of course, defeated politicians themselves abused the methods in vogue and the agitation thus created was so strongly supported by voters in general that, in the decade beginning just after 1875, no less than a score of laws were passed by the General Court to correct abuses and to establish better methods. The year 1884 was notable in this connection for then not only was a complete revision of the registration of voters' statutes made but the election laws themselves were overhauled and such "radical" changes made as that requiring a mechanical ballot-box. This new box automatically registered each vote slipped into it and,

to that extent, aided in making an election honest. But the climaxing accomplishment of the year was the adoption of what is now known as the "Australian Ballot" which, furnishing to each voter a uniform ballot, printed by the Commonwealth instead of contesting parties, allows each voter, requires each voter, to mark his elections privately and to cast his ballot, slip it into the box, folded so that his choice is secret. This Australian system was signed by the governor of the Commonwealth in 1888 and it proved so successful in correcting at least the mechanical evils of democratic elections that it was adopted throughout the United States. Thus did the Commonwealth of Massachusetts once again lead America into higher ground, for if this government is to be successful it can be so only by having elections as honest as is possible. That there will always be trickery, that intimidation will be practiced, and that votes will be bought and paid for and delivered, seem inevitable but, with ballot marking and ballot casting secret, there is hope that the American citizen with his pencil in hand can on Election Day correct any abuses which are flagrant enough to attract his attention sufficiently to remain clear above the din and confusion of political campaigns. Massachusetts did not originate the Australian Ballot. Massachusetts' particular system of the method has not been followed in detail in other States. But the Commonwealth did put the system into practice against the wishes of political powers and thus led the United States a step upwards towards a real democracy.

Equally important, although not so spectacular or actually successful as ballot reform, was the reorganization which the Commonwealth accomplished during this period in the civil service. It is trite to remark that one of the greatest obstacles to the proper and able administration of governmental functions is the "spoils system." As we are organized, a man, and a party, cannot be elected to office without spending money and services. Thus, debts are incurred and, when a party is successful in ousting the opposition, it goes into office owing many obligations. Since jobs are a perfectly satisfactory means of paying debts, it is perhaps too much to ever expect that the spoils system can ever be eliminated, whatever the cost really is to tax-payers in money and service.

But, when after the Civil War, the spoils system was so blatantly abused that not merely were jobs given but appointees were made responsible to political bosses rather than to duly elected representatives of the people, a scandal did come about, both in Washington and in the Commonwealth. Slowly, but steadily, in Massachusetts, a movement grew to correct the situation. In 1883, Governor Butler made the civil service one of the issues of his campaign. He alleged that

whole families were appointed to jobs and that the Republicans had been in power so long that every job worth having in the pay of the Commonwealth was held by a Republican politician—or a relative or friend of such a person. Accordingly, when he was elected, he proposed that at least a third of employees of the State should be chosen by merit rather than political philosophy and that, once chosen, they should be permanently safeguarded from removal for political reasons.

Butler, being a prophet without honor in his Legislature, was unable to accomplish anything, but his campaigning had quickened the movement in favor of civil service reform to such an extent that the Republican Party, returning with Governor Robinson the next year, felt that they had to do something about the situation. Robinson carefully pointed out that the Commonwealth was and always had been admirably governed and that its civil service was both honest and efficient. However, he continued, he could readily apprehend that it was possible that political exigencies might in the future create opportunity for political parties to develop and preserve their strength at the expense of the people and thus, it would be the part of wisdom for the General Court to enact measures which would insure the Commonwealth continuing to enjoy an able and economical civil service. The General Court agreed with the Governor and, accordingly, in 1884, the Civil Service Commission was established. Jobs were to be filled by examinations by local boards of examiners under the direction of the Commission and job holders were provided with safeguards. Ever since, the civil service of the Commonwealth has developed creditably. Abuses still exist and, in the higher salary brackets, a job, even if it is under the Civil Service Commission, is not secure enough for its incumbent to ignore politics, but down in the lower salaried range, jobs are safe—and thus the Commonwealth does enjoy reasonable service.

Labor regulation was also another creditable accomplishment of the Commonwealth during this period. While Massachusetts never did descend to the horrible exploitation of labor which was such a dreadful feature of the English cotton cities, for example, yet the ending of the Civil War found conditions here which were not pleasant. Hours were very long, wages were low and working conditions were capable of very considerable improvement. To adjust these evils, labor began to organize itself so that it might present not only a united front against capital but also be vociferous enough to attract the attention of the people of the Commonwealth to their needs and desires.

The Labor Reform party had its origin in 1870 when an organization of shoeworkers, known as the Knights of St. Crispin, were given a charter as a charitable organization. The party, from this

foothold, made its first progress by its agitation against the importation of Chinese labor for a factory in North Adams. Indignant workers, alleging that the Orientals would work for a few cents a day and would thus lower the standard of wages, asserted that the end result would be that American labor would shortly be unable to exist.

With a following attracted by this reasonable agitation, the party entered the lists in 1870 with three planks in their platform: protection of industry and labor against foreign competition, an eight hour day for all laborers, and Federal control of railroads and communication systems. In the campaign of 1871, the Labor party added another plank: printing-press money for the speedy payment of the national war debt.

However, because the Labor party was both small in numbers and lacked leaders of both influence and ability, as a party it failed to accomplish anything of importance. The two major parties, Republican and Democratic, both considering they needed support, offered their respective offices to the Laborites and thus the Labor party ceased to be, its members finding they had a better opportunity of accomplishing their objectives under the standards of the Elephant and the Donkey than they did by their own. Thus, the labor leaders joined the major parties, according to individual persuasion but came together again in working for what they wanted within the halls of the General Court. Soon, by this means, they were enabled to crystallize the generous sympathy which the public had for their ambitions and one by one, statutes were ground out which did greatly improve labor's position within the Commonwealth. Of course, the vested interests struggled manfully and few, if any, struggles upon Beacon Hill, have been as bitter as some of the labor legislation battles. By the end of the quarter century period, however, Labor won through in many points, the health and property rights of employees were greatly advanced in protection, hours of labor were regulated, particularly those of women and children and, among fundamental legislation were several important statutes: 1882 saw the law passed which required employers doing business within the state to pay wages weekly and the same year saw the establishment of the State Board of Arbitration, an official agency to function as a go-between between capital and labor; and 1887 saw, not only the appointment of the first Monday in September as Labor Day but also the "greatest piece of humanitarian legislation the State has witnessed"—the Employers' Liability Law—which makes employers responsible for compensation to their employees for any injuries received in the line of their duties, among other things.

Five minor legislative programs of the period also deserve con-

sideration. The police power of the body politic is one of these. Fundamentally, the police power is exercised by the various towns and cities of the Commonwealth but, political abuses, as well as economic limitations of some of the smaller communities, have and still do, restrict the proper functioning of this power. Thus, as a supplementary force for the maintenance of law and order, a State appointed and paid constabulary has always been considered of advantage. The actual exercise of this State Police power began in 1865 when Governor Andrew put through a measure which set up a State Police force. This organization, not important numerically, was yet of political importance in that it was a step ahead in giving the Executive of the State an armed force at his command. Formerly, the Executive had to either depend upon the various towns and cities enforcing law and order or else was compelled to take the drastic and expensive step of calling out the militia.

For several years this State Police force remained small in number, furnishing employment for discharged soldiers of the Civil War, and yet it did a great deal in keeping the peace at times of civic disorder, such as at strikes and fires and county fairs. In 1875 a State Police Board was established and again and again the form, control, name and activities of the State Police were changed but, down through the years, the Commonwealth did continue to maintain its police in one form or another until it culminated in the present large, able and efficient force.

In connection with this State in the police business, the most remarkable incident is that of 1885 when the General Court removed from the City of Boston the control of its police department, giving the authority to the Governor and a board of three commissioners. This interference by the State with what had always been the private and personal concern of a city caused no end of criticism. The bill was passed only after the greatest of squabbles, violent language and actions taking place in the ordinarily serene marble halls on Beacon Hill but subsequent conduct of the police department of Boston has, in a large degree, justified the usurpation of authority—for the removal of the police from City Hall has greatly improved the bluecoats' efficiency and morale. Boston's police have been singularly free from the scandal and corruption which have characterized the police forces of other American large cities.

Public health, the second minor development, is in essence another exemplification of the Commonwealth taking over private and local business for the greater good of the State as a whole. The State's public health business began in 1869 with the formation of the State

Board of Health. To begin with, this Board had merely the function of distributing information, which amounted to advising the towns and cities in health matters. But advice is never taken seriously by politicians and so, from time to time, the State Board of Health was given teeth, as particularly in 1886 when it was given powers to deal with such things as control of epidemics of certain disease, the prevention of nuisances dangerous or offensive, the inspection of foods and drugs and the protection of sewerage disposal and the water supply systems. Out of this last function, in 1889, grew the Metropolitan Sewerage Commission, which in turn gave birth to the present day Metropolitan District Commission. This remarkable organization, which is one of the most authoritative bodies of its kind in the world, has direct power and control over the water supply, the sewer systems and the public parks of Greater Boston, an area of nearly fifty towns and cities which contain almost half of the Commonwealth's population.

Education, the third minor development, has always been a business in which the Commonwealth has set the nation distinguished standards. From the earliest days of Winthrop and his associates, education was considered necessary for almost everybody, and by the time the Civil War ended and this period began, it was deemed necessary for everyone. In general, while the Commonwealth did make great strides during this quarter century, in many instances its laws were but the spreading to all towns and cities of practices which had grown up in individual towns and cities previously. Among the statutes of the period are those which provided for education compulsory for all children up to the age of fourteen; for free text-books; for the management of local schools by their respective municipalities; for industrial training; for the restraint of truancy; for the employment of higher grade school superintendence; for the consolidation of smaller schools and for the wider distribution of school tax money.

The fourth minor development, which was hardly a development at all, being mostly idealistic rather than practical, was women's votes. The Abolitionists, under Garrison's persuasion, had agitated for woman suffrage from the very beginning of their activities and their work culminated in this detail in 1849 when Garrison presented a petition to the General Court that the vote be given to the ladies. It was laughed out and the next move, Governor Andrew's in 1865, also came to nothing. But the women folks continued their movement. In 1871, Governor Claflin asked the Legislature to give women some privileges but nothing was done until 1878 when, upon being given the support of Governor Talbot, the women hoped to put over a constitutional amendment, no less, which would give them all the voting status of

their husbands and brothers. This was considered absurd but the legislators, perhaps alarmed at the perennial persistence of the ladies made a concession—the women were given the right to vote for the selection of members of local school boards. Their voting list was to be kept separate from that of the men but, the step was considerable progress in that it tacitly recognized that women had the ability to vote as well as the men did.

The final minor development of the period was that of prohibition. From the early days of the Commonwealth, when rum was considered to be a staff of life, the oil which kept the wheels of society turning smoothly, the State had come to frown upon liquor to such an extent that, in 1855, the sale of all intoxicating beverages, even including cider, by any person other than a State officer or agent, was forbidden. This was prohibition in a mild form, and yet from that year on, the General Court was constantly subjected to fire from persons who wished liquor made more readily accessible. Neither of the two major parties dared to come out openly during this period to settle the issue and it was not until 1874, when Democratic William Gaston came into office on a frank anti-prohibition platform, that the prohibitory law of 1855 was finally repealed. Gaston put through a law which gave the various towns and cities the right to license "responsible persons" to sell liquors. This local option law excited great commotion and was the interest of probably more people than any other business with which the General Court was concerned during this quarter century. Hailed as it was in 1875 as the long-awaited solution, opponents of liquor did not rest, but carried on a continual campaign against it which resulted in constantly restricting and regulating not only the sale but the drinking of liquor. There was the civil damages statute of 1879, for example, which prohibitionists put over despite the frantic opposition of liquor interests, as was the law which forbade drinking establishments from serving refreshment in any other place than that open to view from the street. Another victory for the prohibitionists was the law which made establishments, such as clubs, in no-license municipalities, which sold liquor to members, common nuisances, in the legal sense of the term. And so the citizens opposed to the liquor business whittled away at the local option law of 1875, passing laws which held the traffic in ever tighter bonds, such as those which restricted the hours in which liquor might be sold, those who closed retail sales places during civil disturbances and elections, those which banned the sale of liquor to persons receiving public charity, and those licensing druggists. At the close of the period, the anti-liquor voters made a gallant attempt at overthrowing the law of 1875 by presenting a constitutional amend-

ment which would have banned the manufacture of liquor altogether. But the Commonwealth was not then ready for "the experiment noble in purpose" of the next century, and the electorate downed the amendment by 131,000 votes to 85,000.

Probably the most significant of all the political development of the Commonwealth during the entire period from the end of the Civil war to the last decade before the turn of the century, was the manner in which the business of the State was concentrated into departments. Formerly most of the executive work of the State was the direct responsibility of the Governor but, as the Commonwealth grew, and executive detail multiplied, it became apparent that not only was the work beyond the capabilities of any single man but that it was necessary to have the various responsibilities so broken up and then reorganized that responsibility for their efficient and economical direction could be nailed fast to individual persons. The department was the obvious answer and thus the quarter century saw more than a score of such departments created. Massachusetts was the first State to realize the necessity of this development and thus, as other States followed once again the leadership of this Commonwealth, Massachusetts can be considered as establishing a governmental system which has resulted in greater national economy and efficiency.

Of the many departments set up by the General Court during the twenty five year period, the following twenty, in order of their creation, are the more important: Board of Railroad Commissioners, Board of Health, Harbor Commissioners, Commissioners of Lunacy, Prison Commissioners, State Aid and Pensions Commissioners, Civil Service Commission, Board of Gas Commissioners, Board of Pharmacy Registration, Boston Police Commission, State Board for Arbitration and Conciliation, Board of Dentistry Registration, Metropolitan Sewerage Commissioners, Boston Street Commission, Boston Water Commission, Harbor and Land Commissioners, Board of Cattle Commissioners, State Armory Commission, Boston Public Institutions Commission and Women's Prison Advisory Board.

Thus did the State, politically reviewed, make great advances during the quarter century. When 1890 dawned, Massachusetts was a different Commonwealth than when the Civil War ended. It had met successfully most of the problems of readjustment which grew out of the Civil War and, far from lagging behind in the dawning of the new social order, it had, in several instances, set the pace for the United States.

CHAPTER XLII

Immigration: From the Civil War to the World War

The first period of immigration into the United States, and Massachusetts, as described earlier, was characterized by being composed, in general, of English-speaking people, with some Germanic folk. This period began shortly after the War of 1812 and was sharply concluded by the unsettled conditions which climaxed in the Civil War.

The stemming of the tide on newcomers proved not merely a temporary cessation but developed into a pause which endured, roughly, for twenty years—until about 1880. Of course, as soon as the war clouds lifted, immigration was resumed, but it largely passed New England by—as the expansion of the Middle West and the development of California were magnets which drew immigrants away from the north-east as soon as their ships put them ashore. For example, whereas New England had nothing to offer newcomers excepting miserably paid work in the mills, there were jobs in unlimited abundance throughout the country west of the Appalachians—railroads to build, cities to erect and all the multitudinous opportunities for toil and profit characteristic of an ever westward marching frontier. Even if the immigrants did elect to stay near salt water, the phenomenal development of coal and iron mines and industries in Pennsylvania offered them greater inducements than did the comparatively well established businesses of Massachusetts. Probably the only social change of importance in Massachusetts during this double decade was the gradual drifting of previous Irish immigrants from coarse labor into the more skilled work of the mills.

The United States Census for 1880 presents much the same picture as did that of 1860. The total population of the Commonwealth was 1,783,085. American born folk numbered 1,339,594; foreign born, 443,491. These “aliens” came from the following countries: Ireland, 226,700; French Canada, 71,431; England, 47,263; Nova Scotia,

29,307; Germany, 16,872; Scotland, 12,507; New Brunswick, 12,006; Sweden, 4,756; Prince Edward Island, 3,613 and Newfoundland, 2,699.

Generalized, these statistics indicate that only a third were foreign born and, of this number, almost all were of British origin. Practically all of the English speaking folk, English, Scotch, Irish, Canadian and the like, were well "Americanized." They readily became an integral part of the Commonwealth and the Nation.

Thus Governor John A. Andrew, Civil War Executive of the Commonwealth, could remark, as he did in speaking late in 1864, "For nearly two centuries and a half, already, have her [the State's] people kept the vestal fire of personal and public liberty burning in her little town democracies. Obedient to order, and practicing industry as well as loving individual freedom, they have acquired at last an instinct which discriminates between license and liberty, between the passions of the hour and the solemn adjudications of law. They possess the traditions of liberty, they inherit ideas of government, they bear about in their blood and in their bones the unconscious tendencies of race, which rise almost to the dignity of recollections and which are more emphatic and more permanent than opinions. By the toil of more than seven generations they have acquired and hold in free tenure their titles and their possessions. The dignity of the freehold, the sacredness of the family, the solemnity of religious obligation, the importance of developing the intellect by education, the rightful authority of government, the rightfulness of property fairly earned or inherited, as flowing from the inalienable self-ownership of man and the rights of human nature; the freedom of worship, the idea of human duty, expanded and enforced by the consciousness of an immortal destiny, are alike deeply imbedded in the traditions and convictions of the immense and controlling majority of our people."

However, instead of being a boast, Governor's Andrew's paean for the Old Yankee, was just about the swan song for, while the flood gates had not been lifted yet, the flood of Europeans was already on its way.

The situation was somewhat as follows: The rising generation of Yankee capitalist, born and bred into industrialism by shrewd and successful fathers, and invigorated and educated into ways of boldness, courage and resourcefulness by successful engagement in the Civil War, found themselves possessed of two things; first, a great opportunity for development; and second, a well established and sound industrial and commercial organization. Practically every family had its mill or mills, small structures mostly, but owning ample water-

power and producing goods which found a ready and profitable sale. For skilled labor and management, the family itself and Yankee neighbors provided all that was necessary. For "hands," there were plenty of Irish and French-Canadian folks ready and willing to work long hours and for "reasonable" pay. To the owners of the industrial establishments, profits were moderate but sure.

But, into this more or less Utopian situation, just after 1880, comes the siren voice of "Expansion." Build bigger plants, produce more goods, make more and more and more money. A little courage, more enterprise and a fortune is certain. Those are the ideas which, like plague germs, spread through Massachusetts (and all New England) towns. The response to the stimuli is immediate. New buildings are pushed up in haste, new machinery is ordered and word is sent around and out into the hills that more hands were needed. Like the proverbial snowball rolling down a hill, the expansion continues and continues until, very soon, a crisis appeared—there are not hands enough in the Commonwealth, in New England, in the nation, to work the constantly growing machines. Orders for goods are flooding in—the whole world is clamoring for New England shoes, cotton cloth and the rest. More hands, at once!

And so the word goes out that New England has jobs for anyone who can stand up and has a pair of hands. Labor agencies grow up in Boston and in New York which tell the mill owners that they will supply all the hands needed. Gratefully, the Yankee capitalists resign the vexing problem to the agencies and concentrate their own attention upon mushroomed vexities of merchandizing, production and management.

Meanwhile the New York and Boston labor agencies have established contact with steamship companies, banks and other groups in Europe which, working only for profit, set about cashing in upon the liberty-loving, socially and economically discontented folks of the Continent. America is painted in the most glowing terms; propaganda, used for the first time effectively in mass-form, lures the restless folks into the machine. Everything is made easy for them—or so, it seems. They have only to sign up and set sail for the new land of opportunity. And so, in a short time, armies of new hands are recruited for the mills of America, mobilized at European points, shipped like cattle overseas and distributed to the mills from concentration camps on the sea board.

Slavers, pirates, and kings and emperors, have long been objurgated. Perhaps few of them deserved censure more than did these labor agencies and their employees who cheated, fooled and victimized the

unhappy folk of Europe and showered upon America a burden which only a future century can undertake to appraise.

Their success was astonishing. In 1880, 457,000 aliens entered the United States, an increase of 300 percent in a year. By 1882 the number arriving yearly rose to 788,000. The figure was maintained for many years with great regularity, although it did not rise much until 1903, which brought 857,000 new "citizens"—a number which, by 1907 reached a high tide mark of 1,285,000 aliens.

But the figures do not tell the whole story. The character of the immigrants must be considered to realize how the basic Anglo-Saxon nature of New England, in common with the rest of the United States, was submerged by other peoples who, admirable as they may be, are different folk.

By 1882, immigration from British and Scandinavian countries reached its highest point and ever after the number fell off, although of course, the number varied in harmony with the basic tidal fluctuation of immigration in general.

Italian immigration is significant. In 1880, Italians came in the number of 11,000—more than twice as many as had ever come in any one year before. In 1882, the number of Romans was 32,165. By 1887, the number climbed to 47,000 and it rose steadily, considering the tidal fluctuations, to 100,135 in 1900 and 283,738 in 1914.

Immigrants from Central Europe followed about the same ratio as demonstrated by Austria-Hungary. In 1880 the number was 17,267 against a mere 5,000 in 1879. By 1884, the number was 36,570, in 1900 it was 114,847 and in 1907, the high water mark for Hungarians, it was 338,452.

Russian migration was similar, too. By 1880, the number of Russians arriving was 10,600, 60 percent more than formerly. In 1887, the number had increased yearly to 30,760. The 100,000 figure was passed in the year 1902 and the high water mark came in 1907 with 258,943 ex-citizens of the Czar landing in New York.

Massachusetts' position in the colonization of the United States by these immigrants was particularly unfortunate. The northern New England States, being, save for the few mill cities, agricultural, did not attract immigrants. But Massachusetts (and Rhode Island and Connecticut) being both industrial and nearer to New York, did, and the downfall of the Yankee was well under way as early as 1890, when the census of that year disclosed the facts.

With the exception of a handful of Finnish, Polish and Portuguese folk, who soon came to prefer farming and fishing to consumptive toil



OLD CUSTOMS HOUSE, BOSTON

in the mills, choosing to pick up the abandoned farms and the deserted fishing banks just off shore, all the immigrants who swarmed into Massachusetts hived into the fringe of industrial cities along the coast and up the river valleys. Of the 657,000 foreign born in the Commonwealth in 1890, 601,000 were found to be urban. Boston, as always typical of the Commonwealth had more Italians, Russians, Hungarians, Austrians, Turks, Armenians and other nationalities living within the border of tiny Suffolk County than did all the rest of the State combined.

The revelations of the 1890 census did occasion mild alarm and in fact, the editors of the Census itself in a discussion of the influx of Central European folk, said, "The proportion of increase of the class of immigrants is very rapid, and should it continue at the present rate these elements will soon outnumber all other."

No forecast could have been truer. The foreign migration into New England the last decade of the nineteenth century, putting this section's share of the entire United States at ten percent, could not have been less than 30,000 a year. And, by 1905, there were about three times as many immigrants flooding into the United States, so that, in the same proportion, New England must have absorbed something near to 100,000 folks a year. And, the next ten years continued the increase in general, the average running close to a million into the country, with the high mark of 1,285,349 in 1907. And thus, at the time of the beginning of the great World War, many cities in the Commonwealth had, in a very large part, ceased to be Yankee towns and were Jewish, Polish, Slavish and French Canadian municipalities, ruled largely by Americans, true enough, but not the descendants of the founders of the Bay Colony, but the sons of the Irish immigrants who came prior to the Central European tidal flood.

A survey of the State in 1915, by means of the State Census of that year, shows the astounding condition. Take the city of Chelsea for example, a separate municipality under the shadow of Boston City Hall. It was settled within a year of Boston's founding and enjoyed a period of great distinction and importance as one of the leading towns of the Commonwealth. For two and a half centuries it was a Yankee town. In 1915 it had a population of 43,000. Of this number 36,000 were foreign, mostly Jewish.

But what has occurred in Chelsea has occurred only in a lesser measure in most of the other cities of the Commonwealth, particularly Fall River, Taunton and New Bedford in the South, Lowell, Lawrence

and Haverhill in the North, Worcester, Springfield and allied industrial centers in the Central and West and—of course, Boston.

Consider Boston; Boston proper, some 40 square miles with but 800,000 residents, is a minor part of the real Metropolitan Boston which, comprised of some three score individual civic organizations, has a population of nearly 2,000,000—all living within a few miles of the State House. In 1915, the census disclosed that the foreign, that is, non Anglo-Saxon and non-English speaking peoples, comprised about 70 percent of the number.

Supported by inherited capital in part, and also by genuine ability and character, the towns and cities are yet directly controlled by the English-speaking race. Bankers are generally Yankee, although there is a large contingent of very well assimilated Jewish financiers making their way to the top. Politics are either in the same hands or in those of descendants of Irishmen; this is particularly true of the police forces. Business leaders and merchants are also Yankee with a yeast of Jewish and Irish blood.

But, beneath these leaders, is a Babelish mass of ordinary folk. The bulk of the citizens of Greater Boston are drawn from practically every nation in the world and the languages spoken are as varied as the tempers, appearances and social philosophies. In other parts of the United States, nationalities tend to set themselves into blocks, but in Greater Boston, there is no sorting of the sheep from the goats. Every conceivable mixture that can be thought of can be discovered. Black, white, red and yellow—they are all to be found in Boston.

If any brave analysis were to be made of conditions as they existed in 1915, it would probably reveal that, if all the foreign elements were counted, two would predominate. Italians and Jews together unquestionably would total at least a quarter of the city's population.

But, this, even so, is not the whole story. Vital statistics, despite their name, are dull things, but now and then they tell something of importance, as they do when showing the birth and death rates of Massachusetts counties, divided between foreigners and Americans—that, is, between children of native-born and foreign-born parents.

Suffolk County in the 1915 period, gained only one American to seven foreign; Essex County, one American to ten foreign; Middlesex County, one American to four foreign; Bistol County, one American to 18 foreign.

And more; cities and towns with the highest birth rates are distinctly those of the largest foreign element.

And yet more, two out of every three deaths reported, were native born—the other third, foreign.

Of course these statistics are approximate; they should be qualified and thus reduced in scope but, they are sufficient to show that: first, in 1915, the increase in foreign elements was very much greater than that of the American stock; second, that the foreign element was tremendously more prolific than the native stock; and third; that the American stock is dying out far more rapidly than the foreign.

This last fact needs a little explanation; it does not mean that the life period of the foreign element is greater than that of the native American but that the foreign element is, naturally, young and vigorous in contrast with the American stock which—at least in a great many cities would have an average age of some twenty years higher than that of the foreign. Naturally, a population over fifty dies more rapidly than one under thirty. That explains the great difference in the death rate—but it also points out that the native stock is growing smaller in numbers not only through fewer births but also through more deaths.

Thus, by 1915, the picture of the Old Bay Commonwealth had changed its colors. Probably about one person in three was American in the sense of being born of parents of long resident families and, in the cities, the proportion was much smaller. Started surely enough before the Civil War, but accelerating in response to the demands of booming industry in the last twenty years of the 19th century and the first ten of the 20th, a tide of foreign blood flowed across the State, and submerged the Yankee as a political unit of importance and substituted in part for the old ideals, still forceful through Civil War Days, the confused and alien traditions of all the countries of the world. Fateful as the days of the Revolution and the War of 1812 were to the Commonwealth, surely they are equalled in importance by this stupendous, if silent, conquest of Massachusetts by Babel.

CHAPTER XLIII

The Commonwealth and the War with Spain

Unlike the War of Independence, which Massachusetts initiated, and unlike the Civil War, which Massachusetts advocated, the Commonwealth as a state had nothing to do with the origin of the war with Spain. But, unlike the War of 1812, which Massachusetts considered unnecessary, and unlike the Mexican War, which Massachusetts denounced, the Commonwealth eagerly supported the war with Spain. In fact, doubtless inspired by the exploding of the battleship *Maine*, and by the publicity given to the alleged Spanish victimization of the Cuban natives, the men of Massachusetts were too eager to participate in the hostilities; far from the War Department and the State officials having difficulty in finding men, their trouble was in selecting what men they needed from the many who wanted to go and fight.

Although Massachusetts did not play as prominent a part in the actual conflict as it would have done in a major war, yet the Commonwealth added a great amount of lustre to her military glory by the splendid condition and training of her militia. When Governor Wolcott wired to Washington before war was actually declared against Spain, seeking to learn what would be required of the State when hostilities came, the War Department informed him that plans being made contemplated the organization of the foreign expeditionary force from the militia of interior States and that the militia of all the sea-board states would be utilized at home in coast defense work.

However, when war did break out, the War Department discovered that the militia of so many of the interior states were so poorly trained and organized that they were practically useless. Thus, in common with other sea-board States, particularly those of the north-east, Massachusetts was required not only to defend her own shores but also to supply men for the expeditionary force.

Of the six regiments of militia called from Massachusetts only one was kept at home, the First, for coast defense; all the rest were rushed into foreign service as rapidly as the War Department,

itself at the time no model of efficiency, could organize the business of war. Throughout their service, the six regiments of militia excited favorable comment. For years, Massachusetts militia leaders had been busy weeding out the "parade soldier" and not a single untrained man left the State. In fact, so high was the morale of the regiments, all of them with their bullet-torn and blood-stained Civil War flags attesting to their honor, that, as there was not room enough in the commissioned ranks for former officers to serve, many of them enlisted as private soldiers. In contrast, militia regiments from certain other states reported not only poorly armed and even more poorly trained but with, in one instance at least, less than ten percent of their original membership. Naturally, the War Department made use of the first class regiments from this Commonwealth and, in the brief period of conflict, three regiments saw active service and all saw foreign service. This is, probably, a larger proportion of service than that of any other State militia.

The spirit of the Massachusetts regiments is shown by the episode which concerned the Sixth. A general order having named the Sixth as one of the first to be summoned, a meeting was called at the State House by the Governor to meet with its Colonel Charles F. Woodward. At the same time and place, Colonel Woodward ordered a meeting of his officers. Thus, after conferring with the Governor, Colonel Woodward walked into the meeting of the officers of his Company and asked them if they were ready and willing to fight Spain. Inside of an hour, after the Governor had authorized Colonel Woodward to raise his regiment as volunteers, the Colonel reported to the Adjutant General's office that "every officer, line, field and staff, had volunteered."

On April 23, 1898, the order from the president for 125,000 volunteers was issued. Massachusetts was asked to raise only two percent as many men as was the case in the Civil War and thus but four regiments of infantry and one of heavy artillery was called. The Artillery Regiment was the First; it was assigned to coast defense duty. The infantry regiments were the Second, Colonel Embury P. Clark; the Sixth, Colonel Charles F. Woodward; the Eighth, Colonel William A. Pew, Jr., and the Ninth, Colonel Fred B. Bogan.

This first call was for the Commonwealth to raise 4,554 men. On May 25th, a second call for 2,884 more was sent from Washington and the Fifth Regiment, Colonel Jophanus Whitney, was designated. A concentration camp was established at Framingham and there, early in May, the regiments were mustered into the service. Since

the regiments were dispatched southward in order of seniority, the Second was the first to go and it, oddly enough, was the only regiment to suffer loss in action, fourteen men killed and four dying of wounds. The other regiments were condemned to suffer the worst fate of a soldier: monotonous foreign service in unhealthy, foreign lands with poor supply service and no fighting to relieve the tedium of existence and to bolster the morale of the men against the invisible enemy of disease.

Massachusetts put 6,874 men into the active services during the War: 2,911 in the Navy, 2,184 in the Army and 1,779 in the Marine Corps.

The history of the Sixth Regiment will be illustrative of the Massachusetts' regiments' services. This famous name of the Sixth possibly stimulated the members of its ranks to remember the Civil War, as well as to "Remember the *Maine*," but its campaign was almost bloodless and most of its service was that of standing and waiting under the tropical sun and amid tropical fogs and malaria. Fever, sunstroke, lack of food, treachery of natives, police work and the like are poor substitutes for blood and glory but the Sixth, like the other Massachusetts' regiments, stood to its duties.

In composition, the Sixth was one of the finest regiments the Commonwealth had ever seen. There were no surly draftees in its ranks; the privates and officers were men who volunteered for service willingly, not for the defense of their homes but for the good of the United States, and fully aware that they were enlisting for service in the tropics where diseases were more deadly than bullets. Men from every walk of life served in the ranks. College students marched elbow to elbow with laborers; lawyers and mechanics answered the same commands.

On May 6th, the Sixth was encamped in Framingham awaiting orders. Its companies came from the following cities: A, Wakefield; B and D, Fitchburg; C and G, Lowell; E, South Framingham; F, Marlborough; H, Stoneham; I, Concord; K, Southbridge; L, Boston and M, Milford. The officers were: Charles F. Woodward, colonel; George H. Chaffin, lieutenant colonel; George H. Taylor, Charles K. Darling and George H. Priest, majors and William Dusseault, chaplain.

Life in Camp Dewey, Framingham, was not difficult, although May that year was cold and the men, soft from home, found their blankets thin. Days were passed in drilling and in the discharge of the usual camp fatigues. On the 18th, Governor Wolcott reviewed the regiment at Framingham, formally commissioned the officers and reminded the regiment that the eyes of the country would watch them to contrast their record in '98 with that of the Old Sixth in '61.

On the 20th, orders were received at 11 o'clock in the morning to start southward and at six o'clock, the regiment was entrained and moving down the rails towards Albany and New York. Spice was added to the journey by the regiments receiving an invitation from Mayor U. T. Malster of Baltimore for the regiment to accept the hospitality of his city. Thus, when the new Sixth passed through Baltimore, they trod the same ground as did the Old Sixth in '61. A mob greeted both regiments, but in '98 instead of blood, flags and honors awaited the soldiers and the city met the men with wildest enthusiasm. After the reception, which was crowned by the city presenting the regiment with an immense floral piece, the men were given individual lunch boxes and sent on their way with best wishes. Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, speaking at the time of the happy day, of which he was a spectator, wrote, "Baltimore has made history. She has let fall a rose-bud of affection which will touch the heart of the entire nation. No city but Baltimore could have performed such an act. She has lifted up her name to the very pinnacle of renown. Upon that over-topping monument of splendid fraternal patriotism the entire world may gaze and see there for themselves the character and splendor of our people."

Late the same night, the Regiment arrived in Washington but was held in the train all night and did not proceed to Camp Alger, across in Virginia, until the next morning. The heat and dust of a Southern June tried the soldiers sorely but Washington was nearby and life was not so bad after all.

On May 22nd, President McKinley, Secretary of War Alger and General Miles, U. S. A., reviewed the regiment. On the 24th the 6th was brigaded with the 8th Ohio to form part of the First Division and on June 1, the 9th Regiment arrived from Boston, encamping about two miles from the Sixth.

After a weary month of drilling and sweltering in its pup tents, a month which featured daily reports that orders to sail for Cuba would be received "within the hour," the regiment was entrained on July 5th, arrived in Charleston the next day and was quartered in a dirty warehouse without water or decent accommodations. On the 8th of July, the regiment, in the midst of a violent thunderstorm, was ferried seven miles down the harbor and loaded aboard the transport, *Yale*, the entire regiment, with the exception of the officers, being quartered on the open decks. At midnight, the ship left for Cuba.

En route, news was received of the bombardment of Santiago and, as the *Yale* rounded into Siboney it was learned that the battle was

still in progress. From the 14th to the 17th, while the Spaniards and the American forces debated the terms of the surrender of Santiago, and from then on until July 25th the regiment was kept cooped up aboard the *Yale*. Quartered on deck, exposed to rain and wind, under the burning sun, their discomfort was extreme, a condition which was not bettered by the scanty and very poor rations which were issued. Privates scavenged garbage from the officers' messes and those who had money bought food from sailors aboard—who fared much better. Canned beef, which was supposed to be a main article of diet, was unfit for food and was thrown overboard by hungry men to feed the sharks swarming about—to their great discomfort. Naturally sickness shortly broke out and the sick bay was soon overcrowded—although many men, who became ill, preferred to “suffer in silence” rather than endure the horrors of the overcrowded room where the “air was not fit to breathe.” There were no nurses. For 21 days the men were thus improperly cared for, being without sufficient food, drink, exercise or medical care.

On the 21st of July, the American transport fleet, of which the *Yale* was a part, was ordered to proceed to Porto Rico, and the sixteen vessels moved out of Guantanamo with 3,500 men aboard. On the morning of the 25th, the fleet arrived at the harbor of Guanica, the Spanish being taken completely by surprise. The Sixth was selected as the first regiment to be landed and was charged with the duty of holding the position while the rest of the force was disembarked. The U. S. S. *Gloucester* ran boldly into the harbor, and sent thirty men ashore in a launch. They landed without opposition. Spanish forces began gathering to repel the party but the *Gloucester's* guns drove them away with a loss of four of their number. The Sixth was shortly landed and the city was captured without casualties. That night and the next morning, Spanish forces attempted what might have developed into a counter attack. The Sixth Massachusetts was detailed to hold the Yauco road which they did, suffering a few minor losses in wounded men from the long-distance rifle firing of the ambushed Spaniards. In all, five members of the Sixth were wounded. This was the single “battle” in which the Sixth took part; a minor business undoubtedly but not without its points—for it takes considerable spirit for men, fresh from nearly a month on ship-board to advance at night into a tropical jungle, expecting any moment to receive the attentions of a defensive force.

On July 30th, in heavy marching order, the 6th was ordered to join the chase of the retreating Spaniards eastwards towards Ponce. On the fourth of August they arrived, weary, exhausted, a pitiful

example of the manner in which troops in poor condition can suffer. Men constantly fell down, livid, as they marched, overcome by exhaustion and the sick list mounted most alarmingly.

At Ponce the condition of the regiment reached a crisis which might have easily led to complete demoralization. Colonel Woodward, Lieutenant Colonel Chaffin, Major Taylor and others resigned their commissions because of continual friction between them as officers of the 6th and the officers of the brigade. This left the 6th in command of Major Charles K. Darling and the men of the regiment might easily have lost all enthusiasm for military service had they not been fundamentally "good soldiers." Colonel Edmund Rice of the United States Army, a native of Cambridge, was given the command of the regiment and Butler Ames, adjutant, was made lieutenant colonel. An officer who served with distinction throughout the Civil War, a Medal of Honor man for conspicuous bravery and a regular army officer thereafter, Rice was an ideal man for the task of reorganizing the 6th and making it possible for the regiment to regain its position.

On August 9th, plans for the capture of the Island having been perfected the 6th was marched northwards towards Arecibo over a mountain trail considered impassable to military forces. Through pouring rains, passing nights without tents and often without fires, at times with only hardtack for rations, plagued by insects, almost swept off its feet by rushing rivers which had to be forded, with blistered feet and moulded clothing, the regiment finally reached Utuado, half way across the Island. There they were stalled for nearly two months, the business of arranging terms with the Spaniards having made further progress unnecessary.

On October 6th word was received that the War was over and that the 6th had been ordered back to the United States. This was welcome news and the movement to Arecibo on the north coast was organized. By the 10th, the movement was well under way and probably no regiment in all the Spanish War was as glad to be moving out of their quarters as was the 6th. The movement was made very difficult by the large number of men who were on the sick list. Things were not so bad as they had been; at one time, half of the regiment was on the sick report, but typhoid still claimed many and those who had recovered were too weak to recuperate sufficiently to be marched away. So ambulance trains were made up of Army wagons drawn by mules and hauled over mountains, around precipices, down declivities, where the road literally jumped from one rock shelf to another, and over roads where, if the mud was not

hub-deep, there were so many holes that several hours were required to make as much mileage as a man on foot could cover in an hour. When rivers were forded, often the water was so deep that the sick men had to stand up to avoid being drowned. At Arecibo the sick were ferried out to the ships on lighters, but, tough as their experience must have been, the enlisted men who remained on their feet, often envied the sick who were at last "going home." Doubtless the numerous criticisms which have been made of the work of the Army medical corps had some justification, but it should be remembered that the doctors and nurses were fighting with typhoid and other tropical diseases without proper equipment and that they were handicapped not only by inadequate supplies but also by a pitifully small personnel.

In considering the medical aspect of the War, the work of the Massachusetts Volunteer Aid Association cannot be overlooked. This organization of Massachusetts folk was of infinite value to the men in service. Under the leadership of Eben S. Draper, the hospital ship *Bay State*, was procured, equipped and operated. Massachusetts warmly subscribed funds and the *Bay State* was put into service as the finest hospital ship the 19th century ever saw. She made three trips to the war area. The first was to Cuba, where she left a badly needed cargo of supplies and brought home ninety-eight sick soldiers of the 9th Massachusetts regiment. The second voyage was to Porto Rico, where she picked up one hundred ill soldiers, eighty-nine of whom were members of the 6th. On this trip also, she left doctors and nurses who went immediately to the 6th's hospital at Utuado and there performed labors characteristic of the highest ideals of their profession. On the third and last trip, the *Bay State* brought home one hundred and thirty six ill men.

Meanwhile, with the balance of the 6th waiting at Utuado for definite orders to return home, special orders arrived on October 11th for the regiment to move into Arecibo on the next morning, following the evacuation of the Spanish troops. On the 11th, the temper of the natives was such that the Sixth was brought into town hurriedly to escort the Spaniards to their trains so that the interesting spectacle was provided of the soldiers of one army protecting the soldiers of an erstwhile opposing army from the fury of the people. But, after four busy days in quieting the city, the native population somehow thinking that with the Spanish oppressors vanquished, they could do as they pleased, on the 15th of October orders were received for the Sixth to proceed to San Juan and there to board the U. S. transport, *Mississippi*. By the 19th, the movement was

accomplished and the men of the regiment climbed aboard the ship which was to take them home.

After the regiment's dreadful experience on board the *Yale*, the men naturally dreaded what was in store for them on the *Mississippi* and their fears were heightened by rumors that the *Mississippi* was a most uncomfortable scow, but everyone was agreeably surprised, for there was plenty of room on board and, for a transport, accommodations were excellent.

On the 21st of October, the *Mississippi* weighed her hook and made a pleasant and uneventful voyage to Boston, arriving on October 28th. Only six months away—but what a royal welcome Boston gave her regiment, a welcome which was repeated as each individual company was greeted as they arrived at their own home towns. On the 21st of the following January, the regiment was officially mustered out of the United States' service and the Spanish War history of the organization closed.

CHAPTER XLIV

The Militia of the Commonwealth

The militia system of the Commonwealth is as old and firmly established as Massachusetts itself and, although, in common with the military history of the United States, the system has developed through many mutations it is still, as in the beginning, an expression of the ideal that it is the right and the duty of every able bodied man to bear arms in the defense of family and property.

In fact, this ideal was born of necessity in the founding of the Bay Colony. Here on the fringe of a new land of mysterious areas and even more mysterious inhabitants, were a few Englishmen cut off from Britain by three thousands miles of stormy salt water. Thus the colonists had to look to themselves to supply the military forces needed to exterminate the Indians to the west, to hold their ground against the French to the north, the Dutch and Spaniards to the south and the pirates from the east. The Bay Colony was not an Utopia for pacifism!

In the England the settlers had left, the militia system under the county lieutenants was so ingrained into the social system that it was natural for the Colony to copy the idea. Accordingly through environmental needs, the Bay Colony almost at once determined that every man was liable for military service in defense of the Commonwealth. Only ministers and a few other professional men were exempted; everyone else was regarded as a soldier.

As time went on, the General Court passed a long series of laws which obliged every able bodied male to enlist in the militia company in his neighborhood, and which obliged every militiaman to provide himself with the regulation arms and equipment of the time and to report for training at the established days—at first every Saturday but eventually once a month and then even less frequently. If, as was not uncommonly the situation, the militia men were, as individuals, unable to arm and equip themselves, the town to which they belonged was obliged to arm them, as it was also to provide, annually, "a barrel

of powder, two hundred pounds of bullets and three hundred flints for each sixty listed soldiers."

Thus, a century before the Revolution gave the draft militia its acid test, the commonwealth had provided itself with a military force. For example, an act of General Court in 1693, fixed the age for compulsory military service from 16 to 60 and ordered that every infantryman supply himself with "a well fixt firelock musket, or other good firearms to the satisfaction of the commission officers of the company, a snapsack, a collar with 12 bandeleers or cartouch box, one pound of good powder, twenty bullets fitte for his gun, twelve flints, a good sword or cutlas, a worm and priming wire for for his gun. . . ." Mounted soldiers had to supply their own horses and furniture in additions to arms and equipment.

It is now fashionable to sneer at the early militia of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Mounted on the pinnacle of modern militarism and buttressed by all the aids of tremendous national wealth and murderous miracles of science, doubtless the raw militia companies were not good soldiers. However the critics overlook the one solid fact of the situation; the men were not soldiers; they were farmers and fishermen and hunters who were organized to fight not offensively but defensively and, also, that any faults they exhibited were not of their own making but rather those of the system and, in particular, of the quality of leadership supplied. Professional soldiers are ever contemptuous of citizen soldiers; even today the regular army thinks as profanely of the National Guard as tow-boat captains and Banks fishermen do of yachtsmen.

From the point of view of the few trained soldiers of the colony, doubtless the Massachusetts colonial and provincial militia was a sorry aggregation.

The first great fault of the militia was that its officers were elected; not promoted, from the ranks or even from the lower commissioned grades. Thus wealth and social and political prominence determined the commissioning of officers, not military experience and talent. Accordingly, save in the unusual instances in which a veteran happened to amass money and position as a citizen, were the companies adequately officered. The second fault was that the men were inadequately and improperly trained; insufficient time was provided and even what was provided was largely wasted—even in war the blind cannot lead the blind to noteworthy accomplishment. And a third fault was that the militia companies lacked the *esprit de corps* necessary to a degree of discipline sufficient to turn a mob of human beings into a single

fighting machine which will run into a rain of bullets and kill fellow creatures as unthinkingly as any force of Nature. Lack of uniforms, lack of good officers, lack of training and even the lack of any common tie except an accidental residence in an arbitrarily fixed district naturally could not produce good soldiers. They would fight, these colonial and provincial militiamen. They were all splendid marksmen but they were individuals, not an army. Against the Indians, or even the French in the pine and spruce forests, they were ideal guerrillas but in the formal, chess-like tactics of the military tactics of the day, Massachusetts militia men were, indeed, not good soldiers.

This unfortunate fact is shown by the practice of the Crown in any serious business, such as the French and Indian Wars. Save for home guard duty, the militia companies were not utilized to any extent. Instead, the British officers regarded the militia as a reserve from which, as need directed, men could be obtained, either through volunteering or straight drafting—impressment was the term then used.

The colonials were not at all ignorant of the situation and beginning about 1700, sought to remedy the situation by substituting a system of volunteer companies which stood in the place of the regular army, as distinguished from the British red-coats, who were available only in case of grave international wars.

These volunteer companies started out in all seriousness, equipped themselves with uniforms and the best equipment, elected their officers with some consideration of fitness and ability and drilled frequently and thoroughly. Some of them rather rapidly degenerated into social organizations rather than military machines but most kept dances and dinners and the like subordinate and gave most excellent accounts of themselves in the wars of the United States. A few of these companies are still in existence and are both ancient and honorable.

Since the fact of enrollment in these volunteer companies exempted any man from compulsory service in the ordinary militia, they were popular and could afford to select recruits from an abundance of applicants. These companies thus not only developed a high degree of *esprit de corps* but were distinctly the *corps de élite* of the American military system. And, further, as the time went on, being the only school in which American youth of military ambitions could serve an apprenticeship, the volunteer companies gathered both military and social laurels.

This situation can be made clear by the service of the militia in the Revolution. After a real war developed, with Washington coming to besiege the British in Boston, the rank inefficiency of the ordinary

militia companies caused the Virginian in urging the formation of a regular army to use language which the school books are content to ignore. But his remarks were directed only at the crude draft militia, not at the volunteer companies. Once he had his army, Washington used the ordinary militia only from time to time in emergencies, flinging them into battle without either adequate drilling or organization. Indeed he could do little else; he could not afford to spend the time training the raw militia nor did he have arms, ammunition and supplies to equip them. But the volunteer companies of Massachusetts, Pennsylvania and other colonies, he used even as he did his regular army. Throughout the war, these well equipped, well trained and well officered volunteer companies bore their part honorably and successfully. Yet, it must be remembered, that they too were citizen soldiers, militia, just the same as the rawest company from the greenest hills and meadows.

Indeed, Washington thought very highly of the volunteer militia and during his term of presidency caused a scheme for the national defense to be drawn up which envisioned a military organization backboned by a small regular standing army and fleshed by a volunteer militia supported by each state. Strangely enough, this scheme is strikingly similar to the present Defense Act (1920).

Thus, the Revolution demonstrated the value of the volunteer militia and the worthlessness, in large scale operations, of the compulsory militia. But it remained for the War of 1812 to show still further the difference between the two species of militia. Even so the system was so ingrained into even the commonwealth that two centuries had to pass, from the beginnings in the 1630's to its abolishment by the General Court in 1840. Chapter 92 of the Acts of 1840, declared that "the active militia of this Commonwealth shall consist and be composed of volunteers or companies raised at large." Thus compulsory military service went out of the picture in Massachusetts, although it must be remembered that the Act expressly stated that all citizens are liable to draft in time of war or emergency. The commonwealth still maintains the ideal that it is the duty of every man to defend his state, and (by inference) his nation, but at the same time recognizes that it is sufficient in ordinary times to have the militia a volunteer organization, since such a system has proven more effective and efficient and adequate to support the executive power of the Governor and the legislative authority of the General Court.

The wisdom of the Commonwealth became strikingly apparent in the Civil War, when Massachusetts was able to offer to Lincoln

an abundance of militia companies at an hour when very few other states had any organized, trained and equipped troops at all. The splendid behavior and military success of the Massachusetts militia did a great deal to overcome the national habit of ridiculing the militia—the consequence of the War of 1812—but, after the Civil War, even in Massachusetts the tendency was all towards reducing the militia as an unnecessary expense to the tax payer.

Consequently, the Massachusetts militia between the Civil and Spanish Wars was steadily contracted. Thanks to the rare exhibition of common sense by the politicians, this was not all a negative business since the militia gained somewhat in efficiency as it lost in numbers. The year 1876 was the climax of the economy movement. In his inaugural address, Governor A. H. Rice recommended to the General Court that the expense of the militia be still further pared down. Accordingly, the General Court obliged by ruling that the militia establishment be limited to sixty infantry companies and three cavalry, three artillery and two cadet companies. However, the pruning was not to be done arbitrarily but by the elimination of the less efficient companies. The result of this action was the disbanding of twenty six companies of infantry and two companies each of artillery and cavalry. A few years later, the sixty infantry companies were increased to seventy two—so that each of the six militia regiments could have a dozen companies and, also each brigade was given a signal corps and an ambulance corps. At this time, most of the states abandoned the name "militia" in favor of the less odorous title, "National Guard"; Massachusetts, however, thanks to the better history of her militia, maintained the time-sanctioned "Massachusetts Volunteer Militia" until the growing power of the Federal Government compelled the Legislature to adopt the new name under the pressure of the World War emergency.

This economy action of the Commonwealth during this period was not peculiar to Massachusetts. Indeed, the militia everywhere was in disgrace, despite its service in the Civil War. It is characteristic of the aftermath of every war, that the inherent idealism of humanity shall believe that there will be no more war. Each war is always a war to end war; it is splendid propaganda! Americans have always distinguished themselves with this only too natural pacifistic reaction. While not always an out and out anti-war insanity, it is usually a marked apathy towards preparedness for the next war and military expenditures are always cut and cut as the nation wallows in an orgy of wishful belief that war is over and done with forever.

The Civil War was no exception. Even Washington exhibited the poison in its relation with the national guard of the other States, and the Massachusetts Militia. Although the militia, or national guard, was the only military force upon which the United States could depend, beyond the small power of the regular Army, Washington was content to ignore the militia and permit it to fall prey to popularity seeking politicians and earnest if short-sighted idealists. Thus, when the Spanish War opened, the militia was in no position to give a good account of itself.

In the Commonwealth, 1889 saw two brigades of the M. V. M. having an authorized man-power of only 390 officers and 5,500 enlisted men. Of the first brigade, Greater Boston had the first infantry regiment, a colored company of the sixth regiment and the signal and hospital corps. Western Massachusetts had the second infantry regiment and Middlesex and Worcester had the sixth regiment, infantry, the Cavalry Troop, (Chelmsford) and B Battery, Field Artillery. The Second Brigade had most of its fifth infantry regiment in the mill towns of Middlesex, the eighth Regiment, Infantry, in Essex, the ninth infantry, mostly in Boston, the First Field Artillery scattered between Boston and Lawrence, the first Battalion of Cavalry in Boston (National Lancers and Roxbury Horse Guards) and the Signal and Hospital Corps, both in Boston.

This mean establishment, for a state having the size and wealth of Massachusetts, could not but excite concern. Labor troubles had shown that something better than a brightly uniformed parade corps was needed. Most civilians, somehow persuaded that the veterans would be eager to fight again, had believed that the Civil War soldiers would form a nucleus of a new army if the need should arise. But by 1890 most of the soldiers of 1861-1865 were beyond the age for military duty and thus this imaginary reserve no longer existed.

Massachusetts was one of the first states to come to its senses and beginning in 1888, started to rebuild its depleted organization of citizen soldiery. The first improvement was from within the ranks; each successive adjutant general sought to improve and extend the character of enlisted and officer personnel and to elevate the standards of training and equipment.

One new step came in 1888 when the General Court authorized the formation of a brigade of naval militia. This was the first such outfit in the United States. Organized by 1890 with four companies, the brigade was soon increased to eight companies. Another development was the beginning of the building of armories by the Commonwealth.

Before 1888, the towns and cities which happened to be headquarters for militia companies were expected to provide armories. While some of these were adequate, the majority were too small to provide large enough drilling space and, in some cases, the buildings were of very little value. The General Court in 1888 determined to build modern armories for all the companies and a program was adopted which provided for such building over a period of time. The South Armory in Boston and those in Worcester and Lowell were the first to be constructed, being occupied by 1890.

At this time also there became apparent a determination within the ranks to lead the militia away from mere parade duty towards a serious training which would fit the troops for actual combat. It was well that this reaction developed where it did because the general body of citizens regarded the militia with apathy; it was a far cry from half a century ago when every man was given military training whether he wanted it or not.

The custom in force was to have a five day camp tour of duty once a year and then a one day annual drill or parade or muster. The camp was held in the early summer; the drill in the fall. Usually the last was an exhibition and little more, often held in conjunction with some local anniversary observance. For military purposes, it was useless. The five day tour of duty also was not actually of any great value. The brigade camps at Framingham were limited by the small size of the establishment and antiquated practices so that really only three days training could be accomplished. Caterers fed the men and the whole business was something of an outing with a minimum of discipline and even less actual training.

The first betterment was the combining of the five day camp duty period with the annual drill—thus giving six days. Other improvements then began to follow. Rations were issued as in the field and regiments began to hold separate camps instead of in brigades. Thus the First Corps of Cadets in Hingham went to its own private camp at Hingham and the Second Corps of Cadets, Salem, went to its own camp in Essex and, later, to Boxford. The First Regiment of Infantry began to become interested in heavy artillery and in 1892 began to hold its camps at Fort Warren in Boston Harbor and was definitely changed from infantry to heavy artillery in 1897. The Naval Militia performed its tour of duty at first on the U. S. S. *Wabash*, receiving ship at the Boston Navy Yard, Charlestown and was later given the use of regular Naval vessels.

Soon the various inspecting officers and adjutant generals began to

recommend even more improvements. Such were the purchase by the State of horses for the cavalry, the extension of the camp period to a full week and the enlargement of the brigade camp ground at Framingham. None of these suggestions were entertained seriously until the Commonwealth's latent military enthusiasm awakened, as always, with actual war—in this case the war with Spain in 1898.

Of course, through all this period the militia continued its traditional social and ceremonial functions. But, more and more, the militia began to be military minded and to revive the old time militia spirit. Drills began to be more of military practice than of amusement for the officers' women folks and sidewalk audiences. The Field Artillery in particular became cannon conscious and at Fort Warren in 1896 actually fired their guns at a thousand yard range. Schools of military tactics for officers were put into operation and, in many ways, the M. V. M. fitted itself as well as parsimonious financing and limited equipment permitted for military service to the Commonwealth and the nation. The very real services of the M. V. M. in the Lynn Fire of 1889 and the great storm in Lawrence in 1890 demonstrated that the militia was a necessary arm of the civil government as well as a good insurance policy in time of national emergency.

In January, 1898 it became apparent that the trouble in Cuba was likely to lead to war with Spain and the then chief executive of the Commonwealth, Governor Wolcott, took immediate steps to put the militia upon a more adequate footing—just as Governor Andrew anticipated the Civil War. When on April 25th, the President wired to Boston asking for troops and requesting that “. . . the regiments of the National Guard shall be used as far as their numbers will permit, for the reason that they are armed, equipped and drilled . . .” whatever apathy the citizens had displayed for a generation to the M. V. M. was speedily forgotten in a blaze of fervent appreciation. Everywhere the militia were honored, toasted and slapped upon the back.

Governor Wolcott named four regiments to meet Massachusetts' quota—the Second, the Sixth, the Eighth and the Ninth. They were mustered at Framingham early in May and, after a physical examination, which retired a number of officers and men, the four regiments were formally taken into the service of the United States under their State names—not under a brand new and inconsiderate organization as was the case in the World War when an entirely new machine was set up despite the objections of everyone concerned, objections which had not the slightest weight with the War Department.

The Second was the first to leave the State, going by train to Tampa, Florida, where it was sent to Cuba as part of the Second Cavalry Brigade. It suffered heavily from disease and improper quartermaster arrangements and lost one officer and four men in action and four others from wounds, being the only Massachusetts outfit to suffer casualties in action.

The Ninth went with the Sixth to Virginia and was thence ordered to Cuba. It lost its colonel, two majors and a captain and 123 men from disease—the greatest loss of any Massachusetts regiment.

The Sixth, being the one which was attacked in Baltimore in the early days of the Civil War, was routed via that city at the request of the municipal officials and was given an enthusiastic reception there to wipe out the treasonable memory of forty years before. From Charleston, S. C., the regiment was ordered to Havana but, without being permitted to land from the crowded and unsanitary transport, *Yale* was after long delay sent to Porto Rico to form part of the Army of Occupation. There its colonel and some other officers resigned, due to friction with the Regular Army command and the regiment was given to Colonel Edmund Rice, a Regular Army officer and Civil War hero, commander of the 19th Massachusetts Infantry in the earlier war.

The Eighth went to Georgia and Kentucky and later to Cuba. It did not experience fire but distinguished itself by being the model camp of the War in respect to typhoid sanitation. That disease killed many more Americans than Spanish bullets due to failure to observe elementary rules of sanitation. The Eighth was officered by men who not only knew the rules but enforced them.

The first militia regiment to respond in April, and the first to be mustered into the service was the First, earlier changed from infantry to heavy artillery. Fear ran wild in Boston that the Spanish fleet was sailing north to bombard the city and the regiment was hurriedly put into the coast defense forts. What good they could have accomplished with the ruinous forts and the antiquated pop-guns in event of an attack does not seem clear but the regiment at least garrisoned the forts at Boston, New Bedford, Nahant, Plum Island, Salem, Portsmouth, Marblehead and Gloucester. The forts were relics of the Revolution and the War of 1812 when they were well enough. The guns were mostly Civil War museum pieces. An energetic Spanish fleet could have stood off shore and knocked the forts to bits and then held the New England coast towns at their mercy. Forts and guns dated back to the days of wooden ships but the lesson was

of little value—the same condition exists today, comparatively. Due to economy, Boston's coast artillery is of shorter range than that of modern battleships and many of the guns have not been fired even in practice within the memory of men and women who have been voting for years.

The second presidential call for volunteers put the Fifth Infantry into the Federal Service. It went as far south as South Carolina. The Naval Militia Brigade furnished men for the Navy and manned several obsolete vessels which were put into commission as a gesture towards defending the coast. The Tenth Volunteer Signal Company was raised in the Commonwealth and sent to Cuba and Porto Rico. All in all, Massachusetts furnished about 7,500 men for the Volunteers, 2,184 in the Regular Army, 2,911 in the Navy and 1,779 in the Marine Corps; the records have not been completely indexed and some confusion exists.

While once again the characteristic reaction against war made its influence felt upon the militia, this time, the Spanish War, while it did lead to a reduction in companies, through inefficiency and economy, it did not prevent the M. V. M. from expanding its military development. The annual tour of duty was extended in 1898 from five days to seven, after years of agitation, and, by adding to this week the annual drill day, the militia was able to get in a full week's training each year—going into camp on a Saturday and breaking camp the following Saturday. This custom held until 1910 when the idea of making the day Sunday in place of Saturday was initiated. Also the long supported idea of each regiment camping separately in place of a brigade encampment, was adopted. And, even more, there was less parade work and manual of arms practice and more actual battle practice in the field. Massachusetts sent the second brigade to Virginia in 1904 for the national "joint maneuvers" and in 1905 the entire State Volunteer militia, save for the heavy artillery and the naval brigade was encamped at Westfield. This was the largest peace-time concentration of militia in the State up to that time.

In 1908 the regiments had a grand and glorious field practice when the entire M. V. M. were put into duty in the southeastern part of the State to halt the advance of an invading army, composed of regulars and militia of the other States, while the main defensive army was theoretically being mobilized at Albany. Not very serious business and very simple in its combat intelligence and tactics, the maneuvers attracted much favorable publicity and gave the militia a chance to demonstrate its zeal against dirty weather at least.

Following years saw a development of these field maneuvers. In 1911, the two brigades worked out field problems against each other in Essex County and in 1913, the two brigades battled each other in Plymouth County. Besides the fun the boys enjoyed, the publicity demonstrated to politicians and tax-payers the value of the militia as a defensive force—and it stimulated recruiting.

While the infantry was thus spreading out, the heavy and field artillery units also enjoyed actual practice with actual weapons. The various coast forts were used from time to time with Barnstable finally fixed upon as the better place—because there were not so many citizens about to object to the noise of the cannon. Battery A of the field artillery was the first at Barnstable but was soon followed by other batteries. Towards the end of the pre-World War period, an agitation began to increase the training period to ten days and even two weeks—the extra days being accomplished with Federal funds.

The mounted troops also flourished along with the other arms of the service (this was the day of the horse, before tanks and motor trucks were militarized). Battery A, Field Artillery, was the first outfit to do something about its lack of good horse-flesh and a decent armory. It bought horses with its own money and held regular drills at a civilian riding establishment. By 1914, the General Court provided regular maintenance for militia horses and finally the cavalry armory in Brighton, next to Braves' Field, was built in 1915. Battery C of Lawrence had its armory enlarged in Methuen and other units soon followed suit.

Before the Spanish War, troops were fed by caterers, a pernicious system. In 1899 the Commissary-General initiated the idea of making a straight ration issue and soon the militia were required to prepare their rations with their own cooks. By 1914, field bakeries were provided so that troops could even have their own bread while in the field.

Officers are the necessary pre-condition of any successful military organization and the war with Spain resulted in officers' training schools being organized upon a permanent basis. As a means of encouraging enrollment it was provided that officers who successfully passed the graded requirements for the rank above their own immediate status would be excused from examination for promotion—which meant in effect that successful students were automatically promoted. In addition to field studies, correspondence schools were instituted and often militia officers were sent to the Regular Army service schools for periods of instruction.

And since a perpetual supply of junior officers of training and experience is vitally necessary, Massachusetts took the lead in establishing schools in which enlisted men could prepare for commissions. The first such school was established in 1913. Once a month for a week end, the cadets would be put through their courses and, between sessions, correspondence work was carried on. Thus the State not only gave itself a body of commissioned officers of major rank, who were promoted through training and merit but also provided subalterns who were shavetails, truly enough, but lieutenants who knew what it was all about and not cadets from families of wealth and position who had never commanded anything more than a horse or a dog before being turned loose with a company of men.

Down through the years of Massachusetts' history the words, "The militia's coming" have not been heard nearly as often as in some other states, but the few occasions during the which the militia have been called out have always demonstrated the value of the citizen soldier. The period just before the World War saw several examples of the militia active under both sorts of duty which it is called upon during the intervals of peace. The first is strike duty—a not always pleasant job and always a thankless one. In January, 1912, Lawrence endured its famous textile strike. The police force could not cope with the situation and after serious riots had occurred, 21 companies of infantry and two troops of cavalry were called out. This number was maintained but a short period of time but a reduced force was held on duty for nearly two months in all.

The second peace time duty is more acceptable to the soldiers and always appreciated—maintainance of order and emergency relief work during disasters, as in the March floods of 1936. The old M. V. M. was called out in the Great Chelsea fire of April 12, 1908. While its own armory burned and while some of the soldiers saw their own houses go up in smoke, the militia maintained order and performed rescue work. Again, on June 26, 1914, when a large part of Salem was ravished by the flames of one of the worst fires in years, twenty four companies of the militia were called out to preserve order. It happened that many of the officers of the companies called to duty were miles away attending a military school at West Newbury. Officered only by sergeants, these companies mustered and moved into the fire zone in perfect order and discipline. These companies, twenty four strong, policed the area for nearly two weeks and, during the frenzy of the blaze, executed the relief work.

During all this period of growth, undoubtedly the most important

development was the beginning of Federal control and supervision. The Congressional act of January, 1903, with supplementary regulations, changed the entire militia picture. The trap was well baited for the innocent militia men. The Federal Government encouraged militia officers to attend service schools with Federal pay. It undertook adequately to equip the militia regiments and organizations for field service. It provided funds with which to pay the militia in joint maneuvers with the Regular Army and it also assigned Army officers to duty as instructors and inspectors of the militia. But, and here was the catch, to obtain all these alluring rewards, the militia had to meet certain standards of military fitness and smartness. And each State must hold at least five days of camp duty plus two dozen regular drills.

As far as the Commonwealth was concerned, this was no hardship as the State already exceeded the minimum requirement. But then, the War Department's Division of Militia Affairs put over a fast one—it attempted to force the militia to attain the ideal organization as visioned in the Field Service Regulations, an ideal which even the Regular Army could not reach.

The effect of this impossible cracking down was to create a new antagonism between the militia and the regulars, an antagonism which flourished mightily and endured even under fire in France—as witness the fate of General Edwards of the Yankee Division. One of the immediate effects in Massachusetts was to erase the first brigade. The reason was that the brigade had but two regiments whereas the Regulations required three regiments. Thus the Commonwealth had but one brigade and two unattached regiments. Another difficulty was the efforts made by the War Department to deprive the two corps of cadets of their ancient privileges. Although secured to them by express provisions of the law, the War Department attempted to prune the two corps. The Federal Law was ambiguous. It read that militia organizations in existence prior to May 8, 1792, “. . . shall be allowed (kind of the law makers) to retain their accustomed privileges, subject, nevertheless, to all duties required by law in like manner as other militia. . . .” Fortunately the two corps numbered a glittering group of lawyers in their personnel and this time the Federal meddlers were successfully defied. But, the matter served to increase the antagonism between the two branches of the service.

All in all, however, the increasing measure of Federal regulation was beneficial. To begin with, the old brigades, mossy with a crust of tradition, were broken up to make the cavalry and artillery inde-

pendent units, thus freeing them from the dominance of infantry officers who could, not, by their very training, give the special arms of the service the leadership they required for adequate development. And the Federal control led to the creation of permanent staff departments, which made it possible to detail specialized officers to organizations, in place of the old scheme of the brigade commander appointing officers from his own staff.

A third and even more important effect was that the militia was better balanced with auxiliary arms. For militia purposes in civil matters, the infantry is just about all that is needed. Cavalry and artillery have no particular use and are also very expensive to maintain. Thus all militia outfits were disproportionately composed of infantry. Of course, the War Department could not then go so far as to tell the state what sort of services it should include in its militia, what auxiliary troops is needed to balance its infantry. But the War Department did seek to accomplish this end by argument and persuasion. Massachusetts turned an attentive ear and, besides creating the desired special companies in the infantry regiments, increased its cavalry to four troops from three, made its two brigade signal corps into a two company field battalion, divided its ambulance corps into an ambulance company and a field hospital and, finally, the Second Corps of Cadets voluntarily surrendered its ancient right of not being attached to any unit smaller than a division and, changing from infantry to field artillery, became the second battalion of the First Field Artillery Regiment. Thus the Commonwealth's militia was modernized.

Not content with all this, 1916 brought the climax of the Federal encroachment. The World War in Europe had made America apprehensive and thus the National Defense Act slid through Congress on June 3 without much objection—although it meant the complete surrender of the ancient Constitutional State Right of limiting the militia for use “to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions . . .” for example, in the Spanish War, the President could not use the militia as an expeditionary force in Cuba. The War Department had first, with the consent of the various State governors, to accept the militia men not as such but as volunteers into the regular Army.

The National Defense Act of 1916 abolished this troublesome situation by making it possible for the President, when authorized by Congress, to draft the militia (now the National Guard) into the service of the United States. Thus the erstwhile militia men, “. . . from the date of their draft, stand discharged from the

militia, and shall from such date be subject to such laws and regulations for the government of the Army of the United States as may be applicable to the Volunteer Army."

But the National Defense Act did much more than remove a mere legal quibble. It remade the entire militia. It gave the War Department the right to order the states to organize whatever branches and special services the Department believed the militia needed to bring them up to the regulation standards and to make the militia of the entire nation an adequate army, complete with all necessary units and branches. Each militia man was given a Federal stipend in return for which he was required to take an oath to support not the state but the Federal Constitution and to obey the orders of the President. Thus, the Governor, formerly in effect the commander-in-chief of the militia of his state, was forced into second place. The President became the commander-in-chief of the National Guard as well as the Regular Army.

The Naval Militia Act of August 29, the same year, put this arm of the service under control and supervision just as the regular militia was. By the end of 1916, the Massachusetts Naval Brigade was increased to ten deck divisions, three engineer divisions, a company of marines and a flying corps.

One of the first effects of the new order of things in the Commonwealth's militia, now the National Guard, was the creation of a second ambulance and field hospital company, an increase in the strength of the signal battalion and the organization of the Second Field Artillery Regiment. The First Corps of Cadets changed into an engineer regiment.

Before the erstwhile Massachusetts Volunteer Militia and now the Massachusetts National Guard could become seasoned, on June 18, 1916, the President called out the nation's militia for duty on the border in the Mexican crisis. The Commonwealth put out its entire militia, saving only the Sixth Infantry and the coast artillery. As might have been anticipated, the National Guard mobilized at Framingham in considerable confusion. Finally sorted out and delivered at the border, the Massachusetts troops were given an adequate period of training with the Regular Army which was of great advantage to them when the World War mobilization came.

This mobilization came on August 5, 1917 and, as under the law, the President's act took the National Guard directly into the Army of the United States, Massachusetts ceased to have a militia force of anything but a handful of departmental officers.

In order that the Commonwealth should not be exposed to the

serious threat of civil disturbance during the war period, the General Court organized a substitute militia force under the name of the Massachusetts State Guard. With unusual wisdom, the enabling act not only made soldiers out of civilians but also gave them the authority of constables and sheriffs in criminal matters throughout the state, really a sort of State Police. When organized, the 725 officers and 11,000 men were formed into eleven infantry regiments, a cavalry troop, a medical corps and a motor corps, composed of former members of the First Corps Cadets. Major General Butler Ames was given command of the State Guard and ably directed their various services. In 1918 and 1919 the division performed tours of camp duty and for several days guarded the Boston waterfront. During two weeks they performed strike duty at Easthampton and maintained order at the Franklin explosion. During the influenza epidemic of 1918 they also gave valuable service.

Of their brief career, however, their service in the Boston Police Strike is the most famous. It will never be forgotten. On the afternoon of September 9, 1919, a Tuesday, the police of the City of Boston went on strike. After a few hours of quiet, in which it seemed as if Boston's lawless inhabitants were not going to take advantage of the defenseless city and its millions upon millions of property, at midnight rioting and vandalism began, continuing all night. Morning came to a city which went to work not knowing what would happen. In the main everything was orderly but very early mobs began to gather in such places as Scollay Square. On the Common the biggest dice game that the United States has ever seen began to operate. Boston's mayor took immediate action by calling for the State Guards. Late that day, Governor Coolidge took his first step towards the Presidency by calling out the troops. Almost instantly, the local units went on duty and by midnight practically the entire force of the Guard's then strength of 536 officers and 6,255 men were on the streets. It was announced that the State Guard would fire if necessary to preserve order but the sight of a squad of troopers with gleaming bayonets was enough to clear Scollay Square. The dice game on the Common ceased as hundreds of shooters were herded in a long parade to the Suffolk county jail, where most of them were released upon arrival. All disorders ceased and that was the end of the police strike. By October 8, some of the State Guard units were released and on December 21, the new police force took over its full duty. For one hundred and two days, Boston had been policed by the substitute militia. This is the longest period in the Commonwealth, save for the period of Shays' Rebellion, that

the civil authorities were compelled to resort to the military for the preservation of law and order. It was a splendid example of the value of the citizen soldier in a civil crisis.

By the end of 1919 most of the regular National Guard Militiamen had returned from the World War and the problem of the future of the National Guard became important. It was generally anticipated that the needs of the nation as a world power would lead Congress to establish once again the old Colonial idea of compulsory military training for every male. But, when the National Defense Act of 1920 was finally passed, it merely strengthened and developed the Act of 1916.

This act created a single Army of the United States, much as Washington has visioned it. It consists of three parts: the Regular Army, the National Guard and the Organized Reserves. According to the law, this last is to exist only in skeleton form—many regiments have but a handful of officers and not a single enlisted man—as long as peace endures but it is to be so organized that it can be very rapidly expanded into a gigantic fighting machine. The Regular Army and the National Guard are, however, to be constantly maintained to the limit Congress permits.

The aftermath of the World War, resulted not only in apathy and pacifistic idealism, as always, but also in a determined economy wave which has kept the Act from being fully put into operation. The past few years of the depression have not favored its development to any marked extent, either. Both the Regular Army and the National Guard have suffered for nearly two decades now from a chronic lack of appropriations, although the current war cloud in Europe has led to a recent loosening of the purse strings.

At present it is beyond a doubt that the Commonwealth has the most efficient and able militia in its history. The men are well equipped and trained to excel the traditions of the M. V. M. in whatever emergencies may arise. After much backing and filling, Massachusetts has finally been allotted a complete national guard division which is designated as the 26th, in honor to the State which furnished most of the men for the celebrated Yankee Division of the World War. Save for one or two minor units, this Division is now a complete tactical unit and, as such, it is the first that the Commonwealth has had since the post-bellum days of the Civil War period. In addition to this magnificent division, the Commonwealth now boasts a coast defense heavy artillery regiment, a full cavalry regiment, a colored infantry battalion and an anti-aircraft artillery battalion, the old First Corps Cadets. This last outfit may, in time of war, be expanded into a complete regiment.

In passing, it is worthy of note that the old Naval Militia has not been continued. The Navy Department has assumed the entire business under the Naval Reserve System.

Tours of duty for the National Guard now last for 15 days. They are held at Camp Devens, near Ayer, although there is considerable agitation for the establishment of a new militia camp on the Cape; Governor Curley leading the movement. The Air Corps of the Division usually serves its tour of duty in New York but it has its own modern hangar at the Boston Air Port and its planes may be seen daily over the City. Coast defense and anti-air craft arms are united with those of the other New England States at the Rhode Island Camp. The militia training school has been re-established and is very efficiently conducted.

The creation of the State Police has relieved the National Guard of much of its civil duty but it is still called out to aid the State now and then—at great fires, during floods and in strikes. Thus, after three hundred years, the Commonwealth's militia still flourishes.

THE ANCIENT AND HONORABLE ARTILLERY COMPANY

Material in this section contributed by Captain James D. Coady, past commander and present clerk of the Ancients.

In continuous existence for three hundred years, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts is the oldest military organization not only in the United States but in all the Western Hemisphere. Indeed it is older than the United States, being practically contemporaneous with the establishment of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay. To this age, the Company has added the luster of high position, being both by charter a unit of the militia of the Commonwealth and by special subsequent legislative enactments of the General Court a body possessed of privileges owned by no other military organization.

The ancestor of the Company is the Honorable Artillery Company of London, chartered in 1537 by Henry VIII, King of England. Among the original settlers of Boston were members of the London Company and they, in 1637, seeking to organize a military association in the Massachusetts Bay Colony similar to the one in London, presented a petition to the then Governor of the Colony, John Winthrop, asking for a military charter. The petition was received with distaste by the Council who denied it, alleging that it was

"dangerous to erect a standing authority of military men, who might easily in time overthrow the civil power." However, doubtless other circumstances were weighed—among them religious differences. The Colony was, of course, Puritan and the very backbone of its being was the determination to erase all authority of the Established Church of England. Since at least some of the petitioners for the artillery company were not the strictest of Puritans, and may have also included in their ranks, open dissenters from Puritan customs if not from the newly established Congregationalism, it is natural that the Council should be reluctant to give power and authority to men not completely sympathetic to the Colony's ideals.

However, the leaders of the General Court itself were sympathetic to the idea of a militia company which could become an important arm of defense against both the Indians and the perils which might come by sea. These gentlemen worked upon the opposition during the following months so successfully that the General Court on March 13, 1638, did give the desired charter. It reads in part, ". . . Robert Keayne, Nathaniel Duncan, Robert Sedgwick, William Spencer, gentlemen, and such others as they shall from time to time take into their company, which shall be called 'The Military Company of Massachusetts'. . . ."

Undoubtedly, the members of the Company were associated for military purposes previous to this date, but the charter day is now considered to be the actual birthday of the organization—although for many years past the anniversary is invariably observed on the first Monday of June.

The Company did not attain its present name until its first century was passed. The charter title of "The Military Company of Massachusetts" was apparently never used. Captain Robert Keayne, the first commander, called his association "The Artillery Company" or "The Great Artillery." The General Court, in early grants of land for the support of the company, also uses the title "The Artillery Company." The printed copy of the first annual sermon of the Company, preached in June 1672, bears on its title page simply the statement that it was presented on the day of "Artillery Election" but, from that year through 1737, sermons were delivered to the "Artillery Company." But, the sermon of 1738 was preached to the "Honorable and Ancient Artillery Company" and the 1739 sermon to the "Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company." Since then this has been the title of the organization, one recognized and used by both the General Court of the Commonwealth and the Congress of the United States. Thus, it appears that the word "ancient" was added

at the end of the first century and the word "honorable" about the same time in recognition of the fact that the company attracted into its membership, the foremost men of the town.

One peculiar function of the early days of the Company was its emphasis upon military training for militia officers. When the settlers first arrived, their foothold upon the darkly forested and utterly unknown continent was very precarious. The woodlands, which then stretched almost unbroken back from the sands and tidal marshes of the shore, were undoubtedly filled with red savages who could have eliminated the handful of settlers if they had been so minded. Only two things, restrained the Indians. First, the redskins were like so many children, eager to trade the Englishmen for the strange new toys the ships brought. Second, was the gun powder of the settlers. Actually, the settlers' muskets were very poor things and, once away from the shelter of the few cannon the colony boasted, the arrows and clubs of the Indians were superior weapons. But the Indians did not know that; the noise and range of the muskets terrified them. To maintain the striking power of their fire-arms, the settlers had but to organize themselves under what was then strict military discipline, for a handful of armed men, resolute under attack and ably led, could beat off a much superior force of individualist Indians. Thus, the crux of the colonists' defense was, first, military organization and second trained leadership.

The first, since there was no standing army of trained soldiers, was accomplished by universal conscription. Every able-bodied male was a soldier. It was his civic duty to arm himself and to place himself under military discipline. Each town organized its militia company, called a train band, as the military unit. These drilled at regular intervals and stood ready, night and day, like so many call-firemen, to gather at the call of the meetinghouse bell, and either defend their homes or march to the aid of attacked neighbors. Even a few months after Boston was settled, such train bands were formed and by 1638, there were seven of these militia companies organized—Dorchester, Boston, Charlestown, Ipswich, Watertown, Newton and Saugus, to use present-day names.

The second aim, that of providing trained leaders was not so readily accomplished. Some of the original settlers, a very few of them, were trained soldiers, experienced veterans. But these, naturally, were older men and men of substance and affairs and mostly settled in Boston. Thus limited by the solid fact of geography, the train band organization, particularly when the settlements began to push back into the forest and to spread northward into New Hampshire, was

definitely deprived of leaders able to train their men and to cope successful with the wily and resourceful red men—who might and did strike at any moment at any point along a thin and far-flung frontier.

To cope with this situation, one which threatened to become increasingly difficult as age deprived the colony of the services of the few military leaders who did exist, the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company set about to provide a “school for officers.” Training classes were conducted as early as 1637 and when the Company was chartered the next year, serious courses in discipline and military tactics were provided. Thus the Boston company was actually the ancestor of the United States Military Academy at West Point and, nearer home, of the Massachusetts Military Academy of the National Guard. Indeed, while this latter organization is comparatively new, it was long fostered by the Company and owes its existence at least in part to the support the Company gave to the idea. Another recent training idea the Company aided and abetted is the Citizens Military Training Corps, an institution which accepts youths each summer for military training in courses which eventually lead to commissions in the Officers’ Reserve Corps of the United States Army—a skeleton body of officers which can be expanded over-night into an army of more than a million men by simply placing drafted privates under the command of the reserve officers’ corps.

The ultimate translation of the Colony into the Commonwealth, and of the Colonies into the United States, naturally altered the relation of the Ancients to the military power of the State and Nation. Nevertheless, fulfilling the objective for which it was formed, for three centuries, the Company has held its place at the head of the Citizen soldiery of the Colony and State. It is today, old though it is, a military company of the State’s militia organization. It performs military duties and its officers bear military rank and titles under the authority of the Commonwealth. Each year, these officers are commissioned by the Chief Executive of Massachusetts, who is also the Commander-in-chief of the military power of the State. The commissioning ceremony, hoary with dignity, is one of great pomp and circumstance and takes place each year on Boston Common, the original muster field of the Company.

Probably the distinguishing feature of the Company in this respect is the maintenance of the original democratic spirit of civil liberty and self-government which were characteristic of the historic militia of the Colony but which has long-since been banished from most military concerns. The Ancients still keeps the custom of electing its officers

annually. Indeed, it has never departed from this custom which runs back unbroken to 1638. Equally significant is the Company's custom of all its officers, at the end of their term of service, returning to the ranks as private soldiers, thus cherishing the old habit of alternate command and obedience, although it may be, and often is, that the lieutenants and the captain of the Company may be in authority over majors and colonels and other higher officers who, though privates in the company, hold commissioned rank in the officers' reserve corps of the United States Army.

This unusual condition is possible only because the Company has, by its special charter and by means of special legislation from time to time, occupied a very exceptional position. Not only has the General Court of Massachusetts taken this favorable attitude but the Congress of the United States has similarly smiled upon the Ancients—as in 1792 when the Company was specifically exempted from the provisions of the National Militia Statutes of that year. Nevertheless, while not subjected to the general laws concerning militia and volunteer forces, the membership of the Company has not been neglectful of its patriotic duty. Hundreds of its members have seen service in every war, volunteering whenever an emergency faced the nation.

The first quarters of the Company were in a building that stood on the site of the Old State House at the head of what is now State Street, Boston. This building was the first Town House, erected by the generosity of Robert Keayne, first captain of the Company. Fire destroyed this building in 1711 and the structure which replaced it was similarly leveled in 1747. The State House, which replaced it, was soon overcrowded and the Company moved on April 7, 1746, to Faneuil Hall, where it has since remained. The Company enrollment has varied through the centuries. In colonial days, the maximum was 278; today the total runs to nearly 800. All ranks are uniformed, the Company uniform being prescribed; yet members are privileged to wear the uniform of whatever military organization they have been members of before. On the membership rolls are to be found the names of men who in their day and generation were foremost in the Commonwealth. Many have occupied the highest places in science, art and literature, as well as in social, political and military life. They are the men who, during 300 years, did their part in building up the City, the Commonwealth and the Nation.

And, justly proud as the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company is of its own record, it feels pride also in its intimate connection with the Honorable Artillery Company of London, England, which,

chartered in 1537, antedates all other military organizations, regular or volunteer, in its own land by more than a century. The record of that Company for four centuries, made illustrious by the deeds and words of royalty, nobility and commoner, the Ancient and Honorable Company claims as part of its family history.

EDITOR'S NOTE: The quarters of the Ancients in Faneuil Hall are a rich museum of Military and Social history of Colony, Province and State. On the walls and under glass in cases are relics of war and high adventure which are unequalled in any other place in the Commonwealth.

CHAPTER XLV

The World War

In the winning of the World War, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts once again played an important part. About five thousand young men were sacrificed in battle and many other thousands were disabled through wounds and disease. The financial burden was heavy and taxes greatly increased. But, the Commonwealth paid the price and gave abundant proof of its possession of the same qualities of leadership and patriotism which distinguished the State in the past, and gave evidence that notwithstanding the "foreign" immigration mentioned in a previous chapter, future emergencies will find no alteration in the Yankee spirit. In the valor and combat intelligence of its manhood, in the stability and fidelity of its legislators, and in the high spirit of idealism and self-sacrifice everywhere displayed, Massachusetts' record during the War was not surpassed by any state.

The outbreak of the War in 1914 came as a great surprise to Americans, and this was particularly true of Massachusetts' folk. This State, in common these days with the rest of the North Atlantic seaboard, has strong ties with Europe. Trade and commerce, as well as social, intellectual and educational bonds, have always been strongest with France, Britain and Germany, more so than is true of most of the rest of the United States. No one, however closely related to Europe, dreamed that War, actual fighting, was possible, and thus the avalanche of blood caught several hundred citizens of the State in Europe and, for a time, their fate was of grave concern, although they all were enabled to return home shortly.

In Boston, as well as the rest of the state, after folk had recovered somewhat from their surprise, interest in the war became intense. Crowds daily filled Newspaper Row, watching the bulletin boards of the three newspapers domiciled there. Since the German element in New England was not large, the sympathy of the crowds was with the Allies, and there were nights during the rape of Belgium and the triumphant march down towards Paris that crowds were as great as they used to be on election nights before the radio made that exciting

but often cold and wet business a parlor sport. When, finally, the French and British checked the German advance and the war settled down into what amounted to a stalemate, Boston was greatly relieved, for everyone thought that hostilities on such a gigantic scale could not long endure. It would cost too much in money and materials, everyone said.

At first the business element of the State was alarmed with fears that the War would ruin the prosperity of the State's trade and industry. The Stock Exchange, in common with other financial establishments, closed, but, upon reopening, discovered that things were far from being as black as they had been painted. The Democratic Administration had lowered the tariff barriers and thus had attracted a flood of cheap European goods. This the War effectually stopped and the withdrawal of foreign competition greatly strengthened the domestic industrial position. And then, joy came very nearly being unconfined, in trade circles, when war orders for cloth, shoes, leather, shells and other apparatus of wholesale murder began to flood across the Atlantic. Business boomed under the stimulus, and material prosperity flourished mightily.

Thus occupied, the War became a remote business to most of Massachusetts. Here and there, of course, adventurous boys did seek thrills by enlisting in the Canadian Expeditionary Forces, or by going to Europe and seeking service in French and British forces or in the medical corps. Thus, a number of Massachusetts families did have a strong bond set up in the casualty lists, but this did not affect the citizenry of the State to any extent. Massachusetts, as did all America, found neutrality both interesting and profitable. In 1915, when the *Lusitania* was sunk by a German submarine, a wave of indignation rolled over the State, but it was short-lived and America's entry into the arena was as remote as ever—upon the surface.

However, Allied propaganda was being busily sown and sympathy for both France and Britain was created in this State—for the former because of remembered services during the war with Britain, and for the latter because of the blood ties which still exist in this Commonwealth to as large a degree as in any of the original Colonies. This sentiment was tenuous all through 1916, and Wilson was reelected,—partly upon the slogan, "He kept us out of war." Emphatically, the election returns showed, the United States did not want to enter the war, and it was generally believed that Wilson's continuance in office was a better protection against our entrance than the election of his opponent.

But the astonishing events of the first few months of 1917 com-

pletely changed the picture, surprising America almost as much as did the original outbreak of hostilities. When on February first, Germany notified Washington of its determination that it would sink without warning any neutral ships found in the North Atlantic, thus supporting its underseas blockade of the Allies, Wilson protested, and on February third broke diplomatic relations with Germany.

However strenuously certain states in the Middle-West opposed this step, however divided opinion was throughout the United States, Massachusetts immediately backed Wilson; her senior senator, Henry Cabot Lodge, delivered a strong supporting speech in Congress and the General Court passed a resolution unanimously favoring the President.

It was generally anticipated that Germany might revoke her campaign of sinking all ships; most Americans felt that even "Kaiser Bill" would not be foolish enough to draw America into the lists against him. But on February sixth, the British *Laconia* was torpedoed. Evidence of a German conspiracy with Mexico against the United States (since questioned as a forgery) was unearthed. The American flag was allegedly insulted by the German Army; and the sinking of all ships without warning continued. On March fourth, when inaugurated, Wilson spoke of the danger of war, and on April 2, when Congress reassembled, Wilson delivered his great address in which, abandoning his former principles of armed neutrality, he asked that war be declared against Germany. Senator Lodge led the Massachusetts delegation in Congress in support of Wilson and on April fifth war was declared with an appropriation of three billion dollars (the greatest ever made by Congress up to that time) and an army of a million men was created on paper.

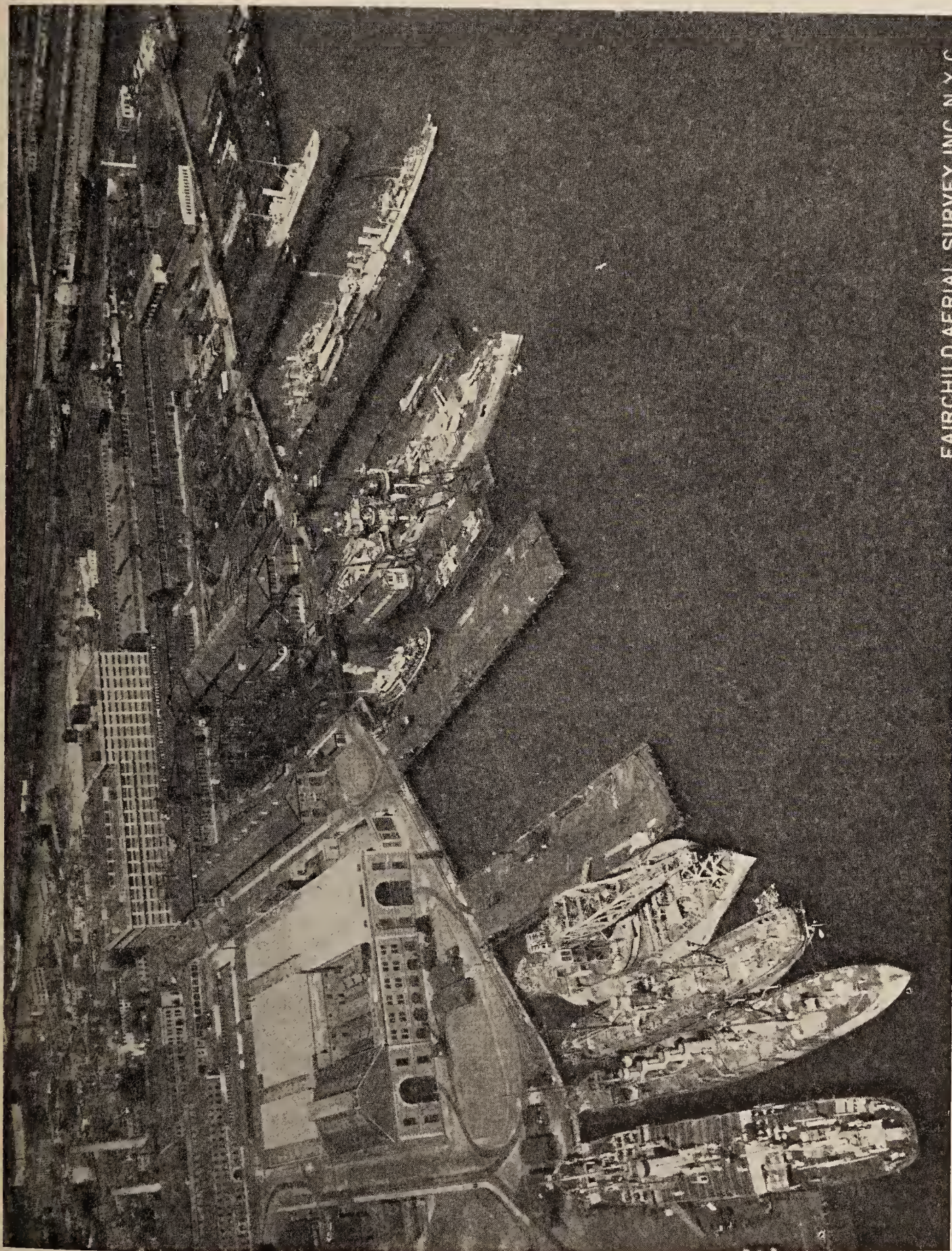
Just as in the Civil and Spanish wars, Massachusetts anticipated the actual outbreak of hostilities. On February ninth, two months before war was declared, Governor Samuel McCall named the Committee of One Hundred, later known as the Massachusetts Committee for Public Safety, with the object of doing "what we can to get the Commonwealth where it may, as it always has in time of national crises, respond very quickly to any call from the nation." James J. Storrow was appointed chairman with C. F. Weed, vice chairman, and Henry B. Endicott as executive chairman. The executive committee included the above and W. A. Green, Benjamin Joy, James J. Phelan, Adjutant General Edward Pearson and A. C. Ratschesky. William A. Gaston headed one of the numerous sub-committees and raised more than \$100,000 for a special fund to be used by the Committee. Other committees were assigned various tasks, particularly

those concerned with the equipment of the National Guard and with the raising of a Home Guard to take the place of the National Guard if and when it was called into service. This Committee on Public Safety was the first of its kind in the United States and was rapidly copied by other States.

As early as February twentieth, several National Guard companies of the State militia were called into Federal service, for the purpose of mounting guard at bridges and other strategic points, and by the end of March, the Second, Sixth and Ninth Infantry Regiments were mustered into the service for such work. The other regiments were not called out, but did immediately embark upon an ambitious program of intensive preparedness. On March first, 1917, the State units of the National Guard held just over nine thousand men and plans were made to launch an enlistment campaign which was to bring the units up to full strength. However, the War Department refused to permit this campaign until the Regular Army was raised to full strength. Not to be denied, however, the State militia organized waiting lists and kept busy with this modified recruiting until June when, War Department objections being removed, six thousand odd men were immediately enlisted, raising the State's strength to 16,251 officers and men.

When War was declared it became evident that the State's militia would all be taken into the Federal service and thus the Committee on Public Safety put through a bill in the General Court which authorized the formation of a State Guard to take the vacant place and defend the State if necessary. Major General Butler Ames was appointed to command the force; \$350,000 was appropriated for expenses, and men who were above the draft age, or who were exempted from the draft for various reasons, were recruited, equipped and organized so that by the end of July, when the National Guard was mustered in the American Expeditionary Force, the State Guard had nine thousand men trained and ready to take over domestic military duties. This force continued in existence until the National Guard was reorganized after the War and it did important service in Boston at the time of the famous police strike,—the social opportunity which put Governor Calvin Coolidge into the White House.

By this time the work of the Public Safety Committee became so valuable that its duties were extended. George H. Lyman, J. F. O'Hare and John Stevens were added to its executive committee and a great period of expansion followed. Many details were supervised, and various new sub-committees took over even such things as coordination of charities, supervision of publicity, investigation of German propaganda and the like. One of the most noteworthy jobs was the estab-



NAVY YARD, CHARLESTOWN

FAIRCHILD AERIAL SURVEY, INC., N. Y. C.

ishment of the Lumber Company. The Allied Army needed timber badly; there was plenty of wood standing in the British Isles but no skilled labor was available to cut down the trees and saw out the beams. Britain requested help from the United States, and, within an amazingly short time, the Committee raised more than \$100,000, purchased portable saw mills, enlisted three hundred woodsmen and transported them to England and Scotland, where they soon were busy as in the Maine woods, hewing down trees and ripping the logs into beams and lumber. The Lumber Company was a free gift from New England to Great Britain.

While the Committee was busy with all these details, its Legislative sub-committee was busy drafting one of the most remarkable sets of emergency laws the nation has witnessed. What is more, the laws, which came to be known as the Defense Act, were put through the Legislature, endorsed by Washington, recommended to other States and widely adopted—despite the fact that, in many details they voided the Constitution. In effect, the Act made the governor of the Commonwealth a military dictator. For example, he was empowered to suspend civil laws relating to labor and bail, and given control of food production, distribution and sale. In War a centralized leadership is necessary; the Defense Act gave the Governor, and those to whom he chose to delegate his power, almost complete control of the State.

The day that War was declared, Massachusetts read in its papers that Boston had seen the first act of hostilities. Six German liners had been interned in the harbor since August 1914; immediately after Congress voted for war, United States officers seized these ships. The German crews had managed to sabotage the engines but the damage was comparatively slight, and, after repairs, the ships were commissioned into Naval service and used to transport troops to France, and bring them home.

The Navy was ready for service almost at once and the first Massachusetts unit to be put into actual service after war was declared was the Naval Reserve who, reporting at Charlestown less than 24 hours after being called to duty on April 6th, was enrolled on the ships *Nebraska* and *Kearsarge* and saw active service immediately. The first Naval Reserve unit so enrolled consisted of 997 officers and men.

The Army could not get into action so quickly. It had only a third as many officers as were needed, and Regular Army officers, jumped by the tremendous expansion from lieutenants and captains to majors and colonels, lacked the training and ability to command large numbers of men as they were accustomed to but a hundred men at the most. Further, the War Department itself was improperly organ-

ized to supply and equip the new enlistments, and chaos characterized the first few months in Washington. This side of war work was shortly taken over by the National Council for Defense and the business of raising a supply of lieutenants was undertaken by the establishment of Officers' Training Camps. One of the first was at Plattsburg, N. Y.; Massachusetts sent nearly two thousand men to it while other State young men were sent to other camps throughout the country.

Shortly it became evident to even the War Department that the million men authorized by Congress were not being enlisted rapidly enough to meet requirements. Less than half the number had enlisted by the end of the first two months. Accordingly, the draft law was formed and passed. Under the old Massachusetts principle, every man was liable for military service, but the idea had died away more than a hundred years previously and, in fact, during the Civil War, the draft was very unpopular in Massachusetts. However, the need for men was so great that Massachusetts supported the draft in 1917 and, on the appointed day for registration, thanks to the support of the Governor and other State officials, in twelve hours the State saw all its manhood between the ages of twenty-one and thirty registered to the number of 362,825.

Thereafter, under directions from Washington, the Governor appointed local draft boards and these boards examined the registrants in each town and city, often scrutinizing a hundred men a day. On July 20, the registry numbers were drawn by lot in Washington and the lists of men in the order to be called worked out. The first draft call was for 687,000 men. Massachusetts' share was 43,034 but, as the Commonwealth was given credit for its National Guard strength and such citizens as had enlisted in the Regular Army following the declaration of War—a total of 22,448 volunteers,—the State's first draft call was for a mere 20,586 men.

These men were called to service in September and were mustered at Camp Devens in Ayer, which the Army, headed in New England by General Clarence R. Edwards, had built in amazing fashion. This great camp, which held 45,000 men, was kept in full operation during the war, being substantially, if quickly, built, and a great many of New England's "boys" passed through its wooden barracks and mess halls on their way to becoming soldiers.

Meanwhile, with the Army getting down to brass tacks in putting its million men under arms, Massachusetts was busy finding out that war was an earnest business. Financially, the First Liberty Loan drive gave the State an opportunity to show precisely what its sentiments were; Massachusetts far exceeded its quota. Even the men of the

National Guard purchased nearly half a million dollars worth of bonds. A Red Cross campaign, coming along, lifted more than two million dollars out of Boston's pockets alone.

And, if the Army was slow in its gigantic task, various special services were not. Professional and skilled men were organized and sent overseas, particularly doctors and nurses, telephone and telegraph operators and constructors, railroad men and various sorts of engineers. And the Red Cross, the Y. M. C. A., the K. of C. and various other agencies of mercy and relief began to recruit workers as well as funds. The women also organized for home service and, in this State, the Massachusetts Section of Women's National Defense Council organized under the leadership of Mrs. Nathaniel Thayer, and did a great deal of valuable work of various kinds.

On July 25, 1917, the National Guard of the State went out of existence. Acting under recent authority, the President mustered them into the service of the United States and the United States Army, and thus all the trials and tribulations of dual control—the anomaly of an officer being commissioned by both State and Federal authority—such as characterized the Spanish War, were avoided.

The Massachusetts regiments assembled at various points; Framingham, Westfield and Boxford. In all, there were 15,908 men and 502 officers, organized into five infantry regiments, one coast artillery regiment, two of field artillery, a cavalry squadron, a battalion of signal companies and a medical unit. These regiments were all full strength but, suddenly the War Department ordered the number of regimental officers doubled to 105 and the men increased from 2,000 to 3,600. This confusion was added to when the War Department ordered the Army organized into divisions. The Regular Army was given the first twenty five numbers, the National Guard 26 to 50 and the draft army 51 and up. Each division was to have four infantry regiments and three artillery and one engineer regiments.

New England was given the number Twenty-Sixth for its first division. Maine and Connecticut were each given one regiment of the four infantry groups and this left but two for Massachusetts, who had eleven regiments raised to previous full strength. This did not phase the War Department, which promptly picked the Ninth Regiment, some of the Fifth Regiment and a few men from the Sixth to form the new 101st Regiment and gave the command to Colonel Edward L. Logan, and then established the second Massachusetts regiment, the 104th, commanded by Colonel William C. Hayes, out of parts of the Eighth and Sixth Regiments. Thus old and famous Massachusetts regiments were broken up—as was the famous Sixth,

which fought its way through Baltimore in 1861, scrapped all through the Civil War, and again battled in Porto Rico in the Spanish War. Massachusetts hoped that its famous old regiments could be preserved, but the War Department wanted 3,600 men in its regiments in place of the old 2,000 and thus the old numbers went out of existence.

General Clarence R. Edwards, who had established Camp Devens and had been of great assistance in organizing the Massachusetts National Guard, was given the command of the 26th Division and, as he had become popular in New England, and particularly in Massachusetts, his appointment to the Yankee Division soothed ruffled feelings somewhat.

Other new appointments pleased Boston, also, particularly that of General Charles H. Cole of Boston, an old National Guard officer, to the command of the 52nd Brigade, consisting of the 103rd and 104th Infantry. Another source of satisfaction to Boston was the transfer of the First Massachusetts Field Artillery from the 42nd Division (the Rainbow Division) to the 26th, becoming the 101st Field Artillery. The Second Massachusetts Field Artillery became the 102nd Field Artillery and the 104th Field Artillery was made up of batteries from various parts of New England. The engineer regiment was organized out of the First Corps Cadets of Boston and many of the special troops of the division, signal, machine gun, medical and the like were made up from Massachusetts. Thus, the 26th came to be made up mostly of Massachusetts' men and, although it was known as the Yankee Division, it was more Massachusetts' own than was any other single Division.

Thanks to the preparatory work accomplished prior to being mustered into active service, the new 26th was shortly in first class condition and, although it had been planned to send the regular Army Division to France first, only the First was actually on French soil when the War Department decided to send the 26th. On September 7th and 8th the 101st Infantry and Field Artillery left Boston and were followed shortly by the rest of the division and by October 24th the entire section was in France, the first complete division to be on French soil. Intensive training by French officers followed, and on February 5th, 1918, the Division went into the trenches, Battery A, 101st Field Artillery of Boston, firing the first shell against the Germans.

Throughout hostilities, the Division served with honor and distinction, suffering heavy loss. At one time, the effective strength of the 101st Infantry regiment was but ten percent of its officers and twelve percent of its men. Few militia divisions saw as much active service. It fought first in the Chemin des Dames, then north of Toul, at Apremont, at Chateau Thierry, at Belleau Wood, in the great summer

offensive known as the Aisne-Marne offensive, then at the St. Mihiel salient and finally at Verdun where it made an ordered attack and attained its objective on the very morning of the Armistice.

The balance of the Massachusetts National Guard which was not taken into the Yankee Division, was split up into various units. The Fifth, Sixth and Eighth Regiments, skeletonized, were transformed into the Third, Fourth and Fifth Pioneer Regiments—the Third and Fourth going overseas and seeing effective service in special duty.

Out of the first draft troops and ninety-day wonders of officers' training camp lieutenants, belonging to Massachusetts in large part, the 76th division was formed in September at Camp Devens. They arrived in France on July 10, 1918 but the division was broken up and its officers and men sent as replacements to many of the divisions which had suffered combat losses at the front.

After the 76th Division went overseas, more draftees were mustered in at Devens to form the 12th Division but it was unable to get overseas before the Armistice halted opportunity.

Two coast artillery regiments were organized largely from Massachusetts men. The 55th was largely out of the old First Regiment, Massachusetts National Guard. It saw action in the Aisne-Marne offensive and also in the Meuse-Argonne drive. The 71st was all Boston and went overseas in July, 1918 but did not see action.

Three special service organizations deserve mention.

The 317th Signal Battalion, mostly Massachusetts, went overseas in July, 1918 and, attached to the Fifth Army Corps, saw considerable service, being cited for "exceptional devotion to duty."

The 14th Engineers was among the first American unit to go, sailing for Britain July 27, 1917. It served first with the British Army and later with the American Expeditionary Force.

The 401st Telegraph Unit, organized by the New England Telephone and Telegraph Company, served in France from March 20, 1918, until the Armistice, being attached to the First American Army Corps.

In addition, the record of Massachusetts' doctors and nurses was particularly honorable. In May, 1917, Base Hospital #5, made up of doctors and nurses from the Harvard Medical School, sailed to Britain and it maintained a 2,000 bed hospital for the British Army until the Armistice. Two months later, Base Hospital #6, made up of doctors and nurses from the Boston University School of Medicine and the Massachusetts General Hospital of Boston, sailed and maintained a 4,000 bed hospital near Bordeaux. In July, 1918, Base Hospital #7, made up of doctors and nurses from the Boston City Hospital, sailed and established their unit at Jouez-les-Tours. These



BOSTON ARMY SUPPLY BASE, VIEW FROM AEROPLANE

three hospital units called into the service many leading Massachusetts surgeons and physicians and their record is one of the noblest in that great period of devotion and sacrifice.

All in all, Massachusetts provided 198,929 men in the Army and Navy forces during the War. Of these, but 83,220 were drafted. Not more than a third of this number were actually attached to units officially credited to Massachusetts. The casualty list was heavy—but one of 48 States, Massachusetts with 5,288 deaths in service, made up some fifteen percent of the total American losses.

As has always been the case in wars, where the militia have been drafted into service with the Regular Army, the militia officers have been placed in an inferior position. West Point “ruled the roost,” and all favors and promotions and considerations were reserved for Regular Army officers. Bitterness and dissatisfaction naturally resulted, and in this unpleasant matter, the Yankee Division suffered greatly. Considerable publicity resulted in October, 1918, when General Clarence R. Edwards was relieved from command of the Division and ordered home to command what is now the First Corps Area, New England. Several other officers of the division were also relieved of their assignments at the same time, although in consequence of criticism, some of them were reinstated. It will be recalled that a similar experience befell the Sixth Massachusetts Regiment in the Spanish War, when its colonel and several of his officers resigned because of friction with superior officers appointed over them by the War Department.

While the American Expeditionary Forces were fighting in France and multitudes of boys were being turned into cannon fodder at camps at home, private citizens found the war a serious business also. Five situations in Massachusetts are of particular interest.

Most spectacular was the influenza epidemic. This disease broke out in Massachusetts in September 1918. It reached its peak in October, and estimates of deaths caused reached to totals of more than 10,000, in the single month. Schools were closed, theatres were shut, and all public gatherings were discouraged while every publicity vehicle in existence was weighted down with instructions in the hope that the disease might be halted. At times private medical service broke down; there were not enough doctors and nurses to go around, although many of them worked for several days on end without rest. A great hospital was established in Boston to care for Boston victims and, under State guidance, Henry B. Endicott in charge, emergency hospitals were established and doctors and nurses brought into the State or transported from less afflicted areas into regions where the disease lashed most heavily.

In addition to his work as executive chairman of the Committee on Public Safety, and the influenza control, Mr. Endicott was also very busy during the entire war period with labor troubles. He acted as an arbitrator, under the defense act, and settled more than a hundred very large and important strikes and controversies in addition to some two hundred less important cases which he handled as a judge, both parties concerned putting the merits of their respective cases up to him for decision without reservation. The success of his work is attested by the fact of about three hundred decisions, only two were contested and both of these appeals were thrown out.

And, as if all this was not work enough for one man, Mr. Endicott also served as food administrator. Herbert Hoover was made Food Administrator by President Wilson, and he appointed Endicott as Massachusetts Administrator under the Federal Act. Meanwhile, Governor McCall had appointed Endicott State Food Administrator under the State Defense Act so that full powers and authority were his.

Massachusetts, being far from sources of food supply—the Commonwealth raises less than ten percent of its own food, and most of that is milk—Endicott's task was a difficult one. Not only did he act to keep prices and profits within reason, preventing profiteers from gouging a helpless citizenry, but he had also the duty of enforcing "meatless days," "gasolineless days" and such things and also to keep the white flour shortage from becoming acute by enforcing the use of dark flours as well as substitute cereals. In this work, the Food Administrator was successful without ever descending to autocratic rationing processes. Undoubtedly there was some hoarding of food-stuffs and some degree of evasion but, on the whole, Massachusetts cooperated whole-heartedly, idealistically believing that they were helping win the war by eating dark bread instead of white, by not eating so much meat but more fish or by going without sugar in their tea and coffee.

Closely in line with food control was the more painful business of coal conservation. Like its food, Massachusetts has to depend upon outside sources for its fuel. The breakdown in transportation, consequent to the War, created a serious situation in that it was not possible for the State to obtain sufficient fuel to keep it going during the winter of 1917-1918. To deal with the situation, under the leadership of James J. Storrow, all New England was organized as a single unit. A national organization followed which confirmed Mr. Storrow as New England fuel administrator.

Two shortages existed. First there was the soft coal problem. In New England only industry and large buildings burn soft coal and, as

this is ordinarily brought by water, an adequate supply is usually available. But the winter of 1917-1918 was of exceptional severity and the harbors became so choked with ice that no coal barges could operate for any adequate period. Storrow solved the situation by obtaining from Washington an order which gave New England 500 car loads of soft coal a day and this he rationed out so that the wheels of all essential industries were kept turning, although he urged conservation measures wherever possible. Such a measure was the one which prohibited the heating of small railroad stations, the heating of street cars and such places on so called "heatless days." New England shivered and sneezed but endured the crisis manfully.

The second shortage was in hard coal which is used almost exclusively for home heating. Despite Storrow's efforts in securing extra shipments throughout the summer, when winter came the supply was very inadequate. Storrow appointed local fuel committees in every town and set up a rationing system by which probably practically everyone was able to have some coal constantly, although at frequent intervals it was sold only in lots of 100 pounds and often dealers had less than 48 hours' supply on hand.

On November 8th, 1918, news of an alleged armistice "leaked" through, and Boston, half-believing, hesitated before abandoning itself to joy. Some of the newspapers screamed "Peace." Others, among them the *Globe*, insisted that the news was not definite. Shortly the rumor was proved false. But on the 11th the definite news did come, and Boston abandoned itself properly. All business ceased for the day and happy throngs marched up and down the streets shouting and singing. The news came about noon, and some workers who had gone out for lunch never returned to work until the next day—but that made little difference, for workers still on the job threw down pen or tool and rushed out into the streets. Bells rang, whistles shrieked, musical instruments blared, and auto horns tooted. Boston in her 300 years has seen many joyful days but the afternoon and evening of November 11th, 1918, was as joyful as the old city has known.

It was months before any considerable number of the troops came home, although the various war time civil agencies wound up their work as soon as was humanly possible. Each unit, as it sailed up the harbor, was met by a fleet of boats bearing officials and escorted to the pier with rejoicing. The gladness culminated on April 25, 1919, when, on a cold day, the Yankee Division paraded for hours through Boston's streets and was given a great and continuous reception every minute they marched. Quartered at Camp Devens, the Division was demobilized on April 30. That climaxed the ovation enthusiasm, but

there was one final thrill on Flag Day, June 14th, 1919, when the colors of all the Massachusetts' organizations were formally received by the Commonwealth and placed in the sacred marble Hall of Flags in the State House, in plate-glassed niches along with the flags of all the Wars in which Massachusetts' men have participated.

CHAPTER XLVI

Boston: Old and New

While Boston is undoubtedly incorrectly given second place in the minds of many of its people to only one thing in the world, the Trinity, there is a measure of justice in the close relationship alleged because Boston also is not one, but three.

First, Boston, as has been remarked many times, is a state of mind. Like olives and certain species of emphatic cheese, Boston is commonly regarded with strong emotion. If you like it, you are very fond of it. If you do not care for it, then the city is not all that it should be. Either way, Boston has been frequently, and probably always will be, blessed and damned, lauded and criticized. It seems impossible for anyone to regard Boston disinterestedly. In fact, any free and easy popular treatment of the city is a sure-fire and perennial pot-boiler for ambitious authors and dividend-minded publishers. Witness a recent volume which, although it was so brimmed with errors that listing them became a popular parlor game in Beacon Hill studio apartments, nevertheless sold both widely and profitably, particularly outside the city.

Second, Boston is a very real establishment. Composed of at least a dozen villages within its statutory limits, but really of 63 cities and towns, all within sight of the golden dome of the State House, and all mothered by and dependent upon the central core of activity, Boston is a sizable town. Cold blooded legal census takers put down the city's population at 781,188 souls. Really, however, this is not correct. Thrusting into the legal area of Boston and surrounding it on all sides, save on the East, where the Atlantic tumbles, are 39 communities, most of which are nearer to business Boston than many of the wards of the city. Counting these, the population is 1,924,642 souls. But, still, that is not the whole story, for, in a half moon about this metropolitan area are at least 23 additional cities and towns dependent upon the legal city. Counting these, the real Boston has a population of 2,834,939.

And are these folks busy! The average resident of Greater Boston has \$620 in a savings bank; seventy two out of every 100 families own an automobile and 78 percent of the Commonwealth's income taxes are

paid by folks living within the sight of the State House. These figures are, roughly, three times the standard for the United States and the savings figure is the highest in the nation. Yes, Boston is busy. It has 4,478 manufacturing establishments, employing 132,455 wage earners. This manufacturing activity has a payroll of \$165,517,436 annually. It uses \$432,338,819 worth of raw material each year and produces goods which, on the average for the past five depression years, sells in the markets of the world for \$918,108,790. Behind this manufacturing business—and hosts of other commercial, industrial and financial activities—are 247 banks with deposits of \$2,632,842,665, resources of \$3,118,423,825 and debits of \$12,602,511,000.

And third, behind Boston as a state of mind, over and above Boston as a real and busy modern metropolis, is still another Boston. Not measured with yardstick or balance, this third Boston is the most important Boston of all. It is the Boston of yesterday, the Boston of history. It is not a remote Boston, however. Side by side with the new, the old still exists and, like the city's famous east wind bringing comfort in sultry August hot waves, the Boston of yesterday breathes from its time worn structures, a spirit of idealism and of fundamental sincerity, the same spirit which animated the citizens of three centuries ago when they founded Boston on its lonely hills, the same spirit which developed the town as the center of Colonial America, the same spirit which initiated the struggle for freedom, the same spirit which expanded American trade to the uttermost parts of the earth, the same spirit which, when trade was destroyed, diverted its energies into building up a new realm of manufacturing and empire-building, the same spirit which held North and South together—and the same spirit which, today, assimilates hundreds of thousands of foreign born and makes them as truly American as the Mayflower Society members. Boston is indeed a remarkable town. Old, it is forever young.

Whence this genius? Perhaps an outline of its story will disclose not the mystery itself,—that can never be done,—but the means by and through which the genius has developed to its present estate.

Speaking freely, the story of Boston is not merely the history of the city itself but the tale of all the Commonwealth, all the New England States and of much of the United States as well. In this sense Boston has no limits. This, in so far as New England particularly is concerned, is specially true of the early days of Boston.

If Boston's past may be divided into four parts: Colonial Boston, Revolutionary Boston, Adolescent Boston and Modern Boston, then the first two parts are indeed largely the story of the entire section. For this reason, since the founding of Boston, its early circumstances,

its development through the eighteenth century, its part in the Revolution, its part in the rise and fall of Federalism, and in the War of 1812 have all been treated in chapters preceding this one, it is unnecessary to review the material. Thus, this chapter will concern itself with a consideration of the past century—Boston in its adolescence, from the time it changed from a town to a city, in 1822 to 1880, when Boston arrived at the age of 250 years, and modern Boston, from 1880 to the present time.

1822-1880

Almost at the same time as the Federalist party disappeared from power, Boston changed from the richest and most famous town in the New world—the town that had been established by Winthrop and Cotton, the town that had first defied and then helped to defeat the might of Britain—to a city. The Town of Boston went into history, honored and regretted, honored because of its record, regretted because its citizens dreaded the change which was inevitable, Boston had grown too big for its boots; it could no longer stride forward in foot-wear patterned on the Town Meeting last.

Everyone realized that a representative form of government was necessary and thus, although but a slender majority made the change possible in 1822 the new city form was shortly accepted as it proved itself gratifying. It is at once the peril and the profit of a true democracy that the calibre of the men selected for office determine the value of the government. Because Boston was fortunate in the men chosen for its officers, not only was the city form of government justified but the progress of the city was accelerated.

The first mayor of the new city was John Phillips. Not a strong character, he was elected as a sort of compromise candidate because of a dispute within the ranks of the Federalist party, then ruined in national and state business but still all powerful in Boston. Nobody wanted Mayor Phillips, but nobody was opposed to him particularly, so, as in many other elections, he walked in and sat down because no other candidate opposed him.

By the end of his year of office, the politics of the city had crystallized and Mayor Phillips was replaced by Josiah Quincy. Never since the days of Winthrop and the handful of leaders of his type who followed him, had such a man as Quincy assumed the reins. Few leaders since have been as influential. In fact, it may be said that Quincy took the clay that was the Town of Boston and made it into the vessel that is the City of Boston. Personally, Mayor Quincy was a strong character. He had his own ideas and was most determined

about working them out. To this strength, he added two qualities which changed what might have been just an arbitrary administration. First, he had the ability to bend opposition to his will and thus accomplish things instead of just fighting about them. Second, he had a sufficiently broad vision and honesty of perception to modify his course sufficiently to prevent obvious mistakes and injustices. Thus he served Boston, as it has seldom been served, for five years. Among other things, he reorganized the police, he bettered sanitary conditions, he built a new market and opened the lower section of the city to commerce, he created an efficient fire-department, he raised the standard of the public schools, he expanded the city's system of public welfare and, in general, he either created, reorganized or planned departments and services and activities by and through which the City has grown and been administered ever since. Like all such men, he made enemies. So many did he raise up against himself that he was defeated for his sixth term. But his work had been accomplished. If Washington and his cabinet may be said to have made the Federal Constitution workable; Mayor Quincy certainly did make Boston satisfied to be a city.

Harrison Gray Otis followed Quincy. Both of them had been distinguished Federalists and both were descendants of families prominent not only in the life of their times but also back through the Revolution into Provincial and even Colonial times. Wealth, social position and political prestige—the early mayors of Boston possessed these qualifications as well as their personal accomplishments. For example, when Mayor Otis was inaugurated, he was ill. So, remaining at home at ease, he called the aldermen and the common council to his bed-side and, organizing them privately, read them his inaugural oration and sent them home. Imagine a mayor of today having personality and position enough to do such a thing!

To follow through the mayors in this fashion is impracticable. In general, it may be said that Boston did not long remain sufficiently aristocratic to select its mayors from the summit of Beacon Hill. National politics cast their shadows over municipal affairs and the now apparently eternal struggle between the machine and the outside or "reform" elements entered the picture with the readily observable unfortunate results. However, Boston has remained in a degree fortunate for, with but few exceptions, its mayors have been men of character, ability and honorable devotion to the best interests of their city, even if they have not all possessed spinster aunts with a proclivity for blue stockings.

Politically summarizing the period, and the present era, there have been three marked tendencies in city government. First, there has been

the concentrating of responsibility and authority in the office of the mayor so as to create him the actual executive of the municipality. Second, the limiting not only of the authority but of the size of the legislative department. This culminated in 1909, for example, with the abolition of the board of aldermen, numbering 13 members elected at large, and of the common council, numbering 75, three members being elected from each ward. Third, of the desire to safeguard departmental administration from the control of the city council. This last, it may be remarked, is, as yet, but little more than a desire.

Under this political development, a more important growth has taken place—the expansion of the city in territory, the increase in its population, the creation of material improvements and the solution of the multitudinous problems this expansion and increase necessitated. Mayor Lyman, for example, in 1833, was in office when the need for a larger public water supply was recognized, just as the bringing in of larger amounts of water from new and still newer sources was completed under the administration of the second Mayor Quincy in 1845. The same mayor saw the first filling in of the extensive tidal flats which surround much of the city—a process still underway, as at the East Boston Airport, and which bore its first fruits in the creation of the famous residential section known as the Back Bay, a center of wealth and influence, land lifted up bodily out of squishy mud formerly twice daily swept by six and eight feet of tidal salt. Similarly, other mayors were concerned with lighting systems, the telegraph and then the telephone, police and fire departments and other service departments made vital by the increased growth of the city—and by other problems such as the changing in the character of its activities as industry replaced commerce and the mushrooming factories clamored eternally for more hands and still more hands.

These last factors were not peculiar to Boston alone; they have been inflicted upon many other major cities of America. But, although no native Bostonian can, or cares to say, that his city is without stain, it may be maintained that Boston's record is very much superior to that of most other similar cities. Boston has never had a Tweed Ring, or a Tammany. Attempts have been made to establish such enormities, of course; they may even have come into being—but they have not, as yet, endured long enough to reach important dimensions.

This is not to say that there has never been corruption beneath the roof of City Hall. There has been. It seems inevitable under the present American governmental system. In any large city, where wealth exists cheek by jowl with poverty, where large masses are gathered together and held together by economic and social pressure,

there will also be politicians ambitious enough to exploit prejudice and class hatred. Further, where comparatively few citizens pay large amounts of taxes, few citizens remain who care to check the rising costs of government. Any man who pays no taxes, or who believes that he does not because he is not taxed directly, does not worry about paying for municipal expenses; his interest is all to increase such expenses so that he may benefit the more. Finally, among other factors, there always arises the body of public servants, a distinct class who live nominally to serve the public, but actually more through the public than for them. They, naturally, seek eternally not only to perpetuate themselves, to richen the payroll, but also to increase their number and prestige. Out of these factors, and others, comes, like a miasmatic mist, enormous public debts, crushing burdens of taxation, inefficient administration—in short, corruption.

Boston has had less of this than it might have had. It has been fortunate, that is all, for Bostonians are no more civically energetic as a group than the citizens of other less fortunate cities. American cities have become vicious because the citizens, who after all, do hold the power in their hands, are either timid or lazy. Under such conditions a majority can always be led by any vigorous personality or interest which cares to go to the trouble and expense of managing and deceiving them. Boston has had such experience. There have been times when great corporate interests have at least influenced elections so that they could obtain contracts and franchises. And there have been lesser men who triumphed over better men through well planned and financed strategy. But, in the main, things have never been as badly off as they might well have been. For, Boston has had its problems.

There's finance. In 1822, when Boston gave up being a town, she had about 40,000 inhabitants. At the close of the period of adolescence, the census counted nearly half a million in 1880 with another equal number in adjacent and dependent cities and towns. In 1822, the town-city debt was but \$100,000 and annual municipal expenses were but \$249,000. In 1880, the debt was nearing the \$30,000,000 mark and annual expenses were more than \$15,000,000.

And, also, there is not only the change in population but in its character. This second factor, is of much greater importance than any mere catalogue of new buildings, of new industries, new manufacturing plants, gas and electric lighting, water mains and communication systems. It is the people themselves that are concerned, with their thoughts and ideals, with their religion and character, with their civic-mindedness and their patriotism.



FAIRCHILD AERIAL SURVEY INC. N.Y.C.

SOUTH BOSTON, BOSTON PROPER IN BACKGROUND

In the first two hundred years of Boston's existence, there was no section of America so free of racial and religious mixture as New England. This Commonwealth was settled by a very large number, considering the times, of Englishmen. Down through the years, smaller numbers of immigrants arrived, but they were all English, the same sort of folk who were already here, kindred in fact, by and large. New England was pure English to a much greater extent than any other Colony, Province or State. Of course, late in the 1600's, there was an infusion of French Huguenot refugees. They came to New England in common with other colonies. They were a happy addition. They assimilated almost immediately and, through their innate ability, industry and thrift, soon assumed important and influential positions in 17th century affairs. However, they were too few in number to dilute the English blood to any extent. And there was also the immigration from the North of Ireland—poor and unfortunate folks, mostly, known as Scotch-Irish. At first they were feared because of their poverty, but, once again, their very real abilities led to immediate assimilation and they also won important positions in the life of New England. But, again, they were too few numerically, to change the fundamental English complexion of New England. Boston, being a maritime city, did draw to itself less desirable elements—any sea-port has that misfortune. It had a perpetual floating population, a sort of scum upon the sober body of citizens, a mob-type which caused much of the troublesome violence of the early days of the Revolution. But, again, they were few in number and, unlike Huguenots and Scotch-Irish, were not assimilated to any degree.

But, after Boston became a city, and commerce turned into industry, as the American flag followed sail from the seven seas, Boston did have its alien population problems. During its adolescence, this immigration, however, was largely confined to one kind—Irish.

Before many years had passed the Irish immigrants actually came to outnumber all other aliens and to make up that great body of foreign born who have moved in and taken possession of the larger part of the city. Of course, the typical American process of assimilation, well known under the fancy of the melting-pot, at once assumed charge of the Irish immigrants but, the spot being Boston, and the predominant factor being not merely English but Puritan English, the melting did not proceed as quickly as in more malleable sections of America.

New England, because unadulterated for more than two centuries, has always been accused of feeling superior to the rest of America. For this reason, and perhaps for others, New Englanders, "Yanks,"

are not popular as a class in the rest of America. We are alleged to be cold and aloof because we think we are a little better than anyone else. Even in Federalist times, we were said by Jefferson to be Jews because we set ourselves apart from the rest of the world.

Probably, to a degree, this is true. We are proud of being New Englanders, and we always will be, for it has actually helped us as individuals, particularly when we went outside of our native lands. For the traditional Yankee, America is bounded on the south by New York City and on the West by the Hudson River. All the rest of the United States is an oyster to be opened by our superior powers—and an oyster which the exiles of New England have opened. It has been said that all the offices of London are held by Scotchmen, if the offices are important enough to be worth while. The same may be said of America and New Englanders. Scratch almost any important personage in America and he is sure to be either New England born or to have New England blood in his veins!

Not only has the idea of New Englanders that they are a chosen people, helped them to win fortune and fame as individuals, but the strong and eternal pride has worked to maintain the town form of government so conspicuously prominent as the world's ideal of popular democratic government but, it may be declared, that it is the racial pride that has kept Boston, despite her shortcomings, safely from many of the grave adventures that have afflicted many other American cities.

To summarize other outstanding experiences of Boston, more adequately treated in preceding and following chapters, one thing which cannot be dismissed without brief notice is Boston's wealth. The foundation of Boston's material prosperity was, of course, commerce. Built up during colonial days, it enjoyed a tremendous expansion during the war period which followed the French Revolution—wars which almost cleared the world's seas of all flags but the American. New England led the United States in taking the utmost advantage of this luscious and lucrative opportunity and Boston, together with neighboring cities, such as Salem, very nearly cornered the merchant trade of the world. At one time shortly after the turn of the century, the Derby family of Salem was said to be the largest ship owning and operating interest in the world. The Derbies, however, were but one out of many families and individuals, type of a class centralized at Boston.

Jefferson and Madison and their embargoes, plus the guns of British war-ships, ruined the merchant fleets. Commerce did revive after the War. In fact, it flowered as late as 1850 in the Boston clipper

ships, the most beautiful things the mind and the hand of man have ever united to create—but steam was even then replacing sail and Boston never entered that smoking business to any marked extent.

Why? Because the War of 1812 turned the fortunes and the abilities of Boston away from the sea into a new channel, that of manufacturing and industrial enterprise. The War, which was essentially a prohibitory tariff, was followed by allegedly protective tariffs. The idea was, and is, to protect domestic industry, to nourish it by artificially high prices, prices pegged up by removing the competition of foreign countries. Of course, the tariff did create a tremendous boom in industry. Hands were needed, hence immigration. But, even more, capital was needed. International capitalism did not then flourish. Capital had to be domestic. Boston, orphaned from its fleets, had idle capital heaped up and it immediately flowed into the new opportunity. In a few generations the return from this investment and development greatly multiplied the original funds and Boston became the creditor of most of the United States. How the country west of the Hudson and south of New York hated Boston when interest and dividend dates came around. "Those Yankee Jews," complained America. Boston was content to count its money, perhaps pausing only to reply something in the spirit of Calvin Coolidge's recent remark, "Well, they hired the money, didn't they?"

No sooner had industry paid Boston its tremendous profits, than along came two other factors—the railroads and the opening of the West. Both were once again grand opportunities for Boston capital. It was invested—eagerly borrowed—and the fruits were in due time harvested—although not so willingly paid. Of course, there were losses but, by and large, the very growth of railroads and the amazing development of the West, simply had to bring Boston back its money several times over. Thus, in the days of its adolescence, modern Boston enjoyed an enormous accumulation of money. Today, much of it has gone down river to New York City but that was not to be for many years and by the period preceding the Civil War, Boston was in sober fact, one of the richest cities the world has seen.

Because this enrichment was contemporary with the decline of the old Puritanical rigidity and severity in religion, the time was ripe for a flowering of society and intellect. Wealth gave leisure and stimulated ambition. Freedom afforded the means of development and Boston did blossom.

Literature was one of the arts that exhibited more marked glorification. Boston, that is New England, of course, has always been literary. American literature began in the Bay Colony and in the

eighteenth century it reached comparatively sublime heights with Jonathan Edwards—still a vastly under-appreciated word-master. But, in general, large as it was, 18th century writing was limited by religious preoccupation. It was narrow; that cannot be disputed. In the 19th century, however, Pegasus dropped his religious fetters and soared to such heights that Boston became the literary center of America. Learning was no longer the special attribute and privilege of the clergy; the exploration of the world of ideas was common opportunity to everyone with sufficient economic freedom to spend the time and energy. It is sufficient to list a handful of the leaders of Boston's literary galaxy—Emerson, Thoreau, Lowell, Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, Alcott, Bancroft, Motley, Prescott, Parkman—to display the brightness of the glory. With them went a host of lesser writers many of whom, if they had been born in less exalted times, would even now be counted great. Boston's middle century writings are now permanent segments of English literature. They hold a position which has never since been as much as threatened, however varied and prolific literary flowerings in other sections of America may have been or may be.

The other learned professions expanded similarly as did literature; doctors, lawyers, teachers, clergymen, Boston flowered in them also. But other things did not blossom so quickly. The theatre, for example, was not even well established until Civil War times and it did not become as important as it was destined to become until well after Boston became the present modern city. Art was likewise of slow growth. Copley and Stuart were names to conjure with, but it was not until the 19th century was nearly ended that Boston's great Art Museum was established and could thrive to attain its present international eminence. Music delayed likewise. By the end of the adolescent period, music was important and it has continued to grow until Boston is, at the least, one of the three most musical cities in America.

The reason for this delay, as contrasted with what may be described as warmer sections of America, can be nothing else than the lingering influence of Puritanism. That idealistic psychological habit which is known as the heritage of the Puritan is customarily maligned. It is pictured as stern and harsh, cold and barren. It is true that the Puritans did fail in one particular; the particular which was the reason for their eventual defeat. That fault was intolerance, a quality not so much in the sense in which the word is used in these careless days, tolerance being synonymous with indifference, but rather in the sense that the Puritan was narrow. He saw clearly and plainly within his particular sphere but he could not see outside of it. Thus lightness of outlook, a quality necessary in the modern world, was lacking. How-

ever within his own limits, the Puritan was an admirable character. Outside he was rigid, harsh and, more than often, relentless and unforgiving. Puritan Boston and Puritan Salem never burned witches and Quakers, as is alleged, but the two towns did hang them.

But, the Puritan had his points. He had a burning faith, a fever of belief beside which modern belief is pallid. He was an active and fearless soldier. Boston drove out the British! And the Puritan was industrious, thrifty and sober; his practical idealism was as lofty and earnest as his religious sense. He was above all, responsible. Naturally, undiluted for two centuries, these plus Puritan character qualities were deeply engraved upon Boston. Softened and liberalized though they were after the Revolution, they still persisted and they still endure. No matter what his race or religion may be, any Boston born man of today has much of the Puritan in his character; it comes into his personality with the very air he breathes and the water he drinks.

This is easily apparent in the political adventures of Boston during the adolescent period. Always, when things are sufficiently evil to arouse the latent Puritanical idealism, there comes a revolt against established privilege and position. The Revolutionary spirit still rules fundamentally in the common people. It is too much to expect that wealth, once it is attained, will be hospitable to any threat to the status quo.

For example, the Whig Party, which followed the Federalists into power in Massachusetts, was nothing if not conservative, even reactionary. Tariffs and development of natural resources were its gospel; agitation of whatever nature, its personal devil. Yet, in the very bosom of this Brahmanism, the Anti Slavery movement had its birth and flowering. Of course, the Whigs and the Abolitionists were the two fundamental unreconcilable Puritan principles of narrowness and personal responsibility in full conflict. Garrison, coming to Boston to initiate Abolitionism, was the Puritan individualist appealing to the Puritan conscience. The mob that assailed him, made up not only of the thugs, that like the poor, are always with us, but also of sober business and professional men, was the answer of Puritan narrowness. Likewise it was Lovejoy's murder that aroused Phillips to his impassioned oratory and made him hug his consequent ostracism to his heart, delighted because he had suffered in a noble cause.

Of course, Garrison to a large degree, and Phillips, to a lesser, may be described as fanatics. They were agitators. But not so was John Quincy Adams. The same Puritan conscience in that second prominent son of America's greatest family, led him to do the same work as Garrison and Phillips—only being Adams, he elected to accomplish his end through constitutional efforts. The world has seldom witnessed

a more sublime spectacle than this Boston man, single-handed, fighting for thirty years in Washington for the sake of the right of petition. Despite the attacks launched upon him in the capital, and despite the blizzard of abuse drifted over him by friends and even relatives at home, he persisted—because his Puritan conscience told him that he was right. Personal dislike, even vindictive abuse, from associates and neighbors in Boston and in Washington, neither swerved him; he was a champion, as stalwart a leader as his prototype Winthrop two centuries before.

But, here is the political significance of Adams' fight. Despised as he was by men of wealth and position, he was re-elected time and time again because the district he represented was, according to his biographer, J. T. Morse, ". . . a country district where the old Puritan instincts were still strong. The intelligence and free spirit of New England were at his back, . . . the conservative, conscienceless respectability of wealth was, as is usually the case with it in the annals of the Anglo-Saxon race, quite in the wrong, and predestined to well merited defeat . . ." whenever, as when Adams did, a leader appeals from wealth to the inherent virtue of the common people.

Just as Adams fared at the hands of wealth, and at the hands of the common people, his son, Charles Francis Adams, and the other Free Soilers, such as Sumner and Palfrey, enjoyed the obloquy of the one and the favor of the other. Richard H. Dana and even the God-like Daniel Webster were also damned by the one, blessed by the other and justified by history.

The two tendencies came to a climax in 1860. Rich, intelligent and secure, the upper crust of Boston embraced one kind of Puritanism as always and, despite all that had happened nationally, remained hostile to Anti-Slavery and wished to avoid war at all costs. But the mass of New England was represented in Boston as well and while the Whigs voted for Bell and Everett as a sop to their consciences, what they had as a vestigial remnant, Lincoln was supported by everyone else. And then, with the War a fact, all of Boston forgot its differences, the old Puritan awoke in every personality and all of Boston poured out blood and treasure, to preserve the Union, without stint. Naturally enough, Whig Boston no sooner became warlike than it forgot that it had for generations opposed Abolitionism, that it had ever mobbed Garrison or hated Phillips and Adams and Webster and exalted them and their cause to respectability. Thus oriented, all of Boston united to win the war and then to reconstruct the wreckage. In times of peace, Puritanism's antagonistic ideals have and do quarrel with themselves but, in every emergency, common differences are for-

gotten and the military, courageous, self-sacrificing, stubborn, proud and responsible Puritan, whether English, Scotch, Irish or whatever, starts out ready for whatever sacrifices may be necessary for the accomplishment of right.

And it is not only in these political expressions that Puritanism has justified itself and demonstrated that it still persists. Like water that always finds its way to the sea, Puritanism has always come to the surface in Boston. It can be discovered somewhere in every expression of municipal business. Consider the matter of charity and public benefactions, philanthropy. Its first expression was the founding of Harvard, the first college, whose existence was made possible not only by the benefactions of John Harvard but by the appropriation of tax money. The sums involved were not large in the money of today—in fact a recent General Court spent as much on waste-paper baskets and such odds and ends of furniture. But, considering the times and the means of the infant colony, the gifts and the appropriations were royal indeed. It is not too much to say that, comparatively, the sums were the largest ever consecrated to education in America.

From these first benefactions of a handful of Puritans desperately hewing a foothold between the ocean and the forested hills of an unknown continent, Boston has witnessed an almost constant stream of such noble gift-giving. Bostonians have consistently followed John Harvard, filling the city with schools, libraries, hospitals, parks, health centers, playgrounds and with as notable a system of pure charities as America can boast.

Boston has its faults; it has had its troubles but, at least throughout the period of its first growth to modernity, its adolescence, it triumphed over them all, exemplifying a real Puritanism, a Puritanism purged of its original narrowness, a Puritanism liberalized and softened greatly, but a genuine Puritanism for all that. Boston was settled by folks of energy and courage who dared a new world for the sake of freedom and opportunity. Established, these virtues were strengthened and tempered. Their love of freedom led Boston to be the first to hoist the flag of revolution against England and the first to begin the serious abolition of slavery. Their love of opportunity led, first to the first public schools and the first institution of higher education in America, and then led to the creation of the American merchant marine, next the development of industry and finally, to the building of railroads and the opening of the West. Massachusetts, and Boston in particular, is a very real mother of America; her sons and daughters have peopled the empty places of the continent, and her capital has made the desert productive. Boston has remained true to her tradi-

tions through war and prosperity and depression. The 250th anniversary of the founding of the City found what had been a group of three green hills, set amid wide salt marshes, alternately blue with water and green with grass and reeds, a great cosmopolitan center, a city with ties to every quarter of the world, a city great financially, intellectually and, above all morally.

MODERN BOSTON

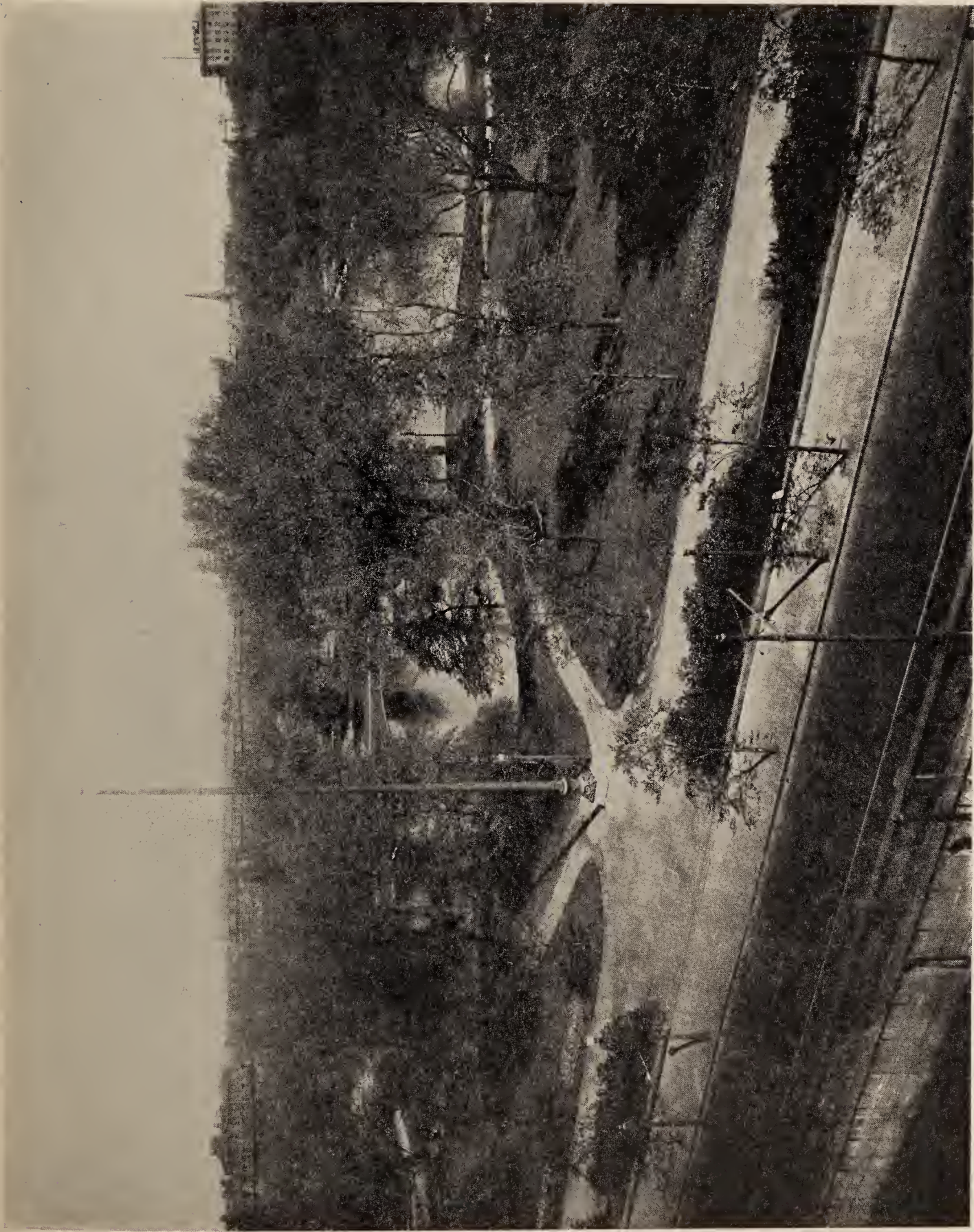
1880-1938

There can be no better way of telling the story of modern Boston than by detailing a few of its salient developments. The previous era is remote enough to be interpreted broadly without detailing. The present is yet so contemporary that interpretation must wait; only the record may be outlined.

As an introduction to modern Boston, nothing can serve so well as these words of Emerson, written as Boston was turning from horse and carriage to steam. "This town of Boston has a history. . . . Its annals are great historical lines, inextricably national; part of the history of political liberty. . . . When men saw that these people, besides their industry and thrift, had a heart and soul and would stand by each other at all hazards, they desired to come and live here. A house in Boston was worth as much again as a house just as good in a town of timorous people, because here the neighbors would defend each other against bad governors and against troops; quite naturally house rents rose in Boston. Besides, youth and health like a stirring town, above a torpid place where nothing is doing. In Boston they were sure to see something moving forward before the year was out. For here was the moving principle itself, the *primum mobile* agitating the mass and always afflicting the conservative class with some odious novelty or other; a new religious sect, a political point, a point of honor, a reform in education, a philanthropy. . . . There was never wanting some thorn of dissent and innovation and heresy to prick the sides of conservatism. . . . Here stands today as of yore our little city of the rocks; here let it stand forever on the manbearing granite of the North. Let her stand fast by herself. She has grown great. She is filled with strangers, but she can prosper only by adhering to her faith. Let every child that is born of her and every child of her adoption see to it to keep the name of Boston as clean as the sun; and in distant ages her motto shall be the prayer of millions on all the hills that gird the town. 'As with our Fathers, so God be with us.' *Sicut Patribus, Sit Deus Nobis!*"

And, in perhaps significant contrast, listen to the Chamber of Commerce describing Boston of 1936: “. . . has 30,000 acres of magnificent harbor with 40 miles of berthing space, accommodating the largest ships afloat; has the largest dry dock in the United States; center of the country's paper trade, is the largest wool center in the world; . . . has the largest wool storage warehouse in the world, capacity 100,000,000 pounds; is the most important fish port in the Western Hemisphere and the most up-to-date fishing center in the world; is the center of the most important cotton manufacturing district in the Western Hemisphere; has the largest fish freezing and cold storage plant in the world; is the largest center and market of the allied shoe and leather industries in the world; is the center of one of the richest industrial areas in the world; is the leading center in America for high grade coffees; has the most advantageously located airport in the United States; contains a wealth of historic places associated with the very beginning of American history; has three million volumes in 156 public libraries; nearly 30,000 students registered in five of Metropolitan Boston's colleges; water supply capacity of 80,680,100,000 gallons (now being greatly increased by a new development); is the home of the largest safety razor manufacturing plant in the world; more than 25,000 retail stores; its postal district covers the largest area of any district in the United States . . . handles more than 1,400,000,000 pieces of mail annually; is the text book manufacturing center of the United States; has two of the largest publishing houses in the United States; has 4,800 manufacturing plants, which turn out yearly more than \$1,333,000,000 worth of goods; was the birthplace of the copper industry in America; is the second port in the United States in volume of ocean borne passenger traffic; has the second largest Army base in the United States; is one of the three great rubber manufacturing centers of America; is fourth in volume of bank clearings in the United States with monthly average of more than \$2,300,000,000; is one of the leading cities in the United States in foreign trade; is one of the greatest clothing markets in the United States; has 8,500 miles of fine roads within a 30 mile radius; welcomes more than 2,000,000 visitors every year; . . . has an assessed valuation of \$3,920,678,885; is known as an intellectual, musical and artistic center; the park system of Metropolitan Boston is one of the most attractive in America; has nearly \$1,000,000,000 invested in manufacturing establishments; . . . area 456.9 square miles; population, 1,955,168, increases 27,000 every year—Boston, the fourth city of the United States.”

It is both impossible and unnecessary to relate how Boston developed



BOSTON COMMON

from Emerson's description to that of the Chamber of Commerce's—impossible because of physical limitations and unnecessary, in part, because many of the details are discussed in subsequent chapters. In general, a brief outline of a few divisions of the City's business will thus suffice.

Most important, is the development of the city Government. Several major influences are readily discernible in the period beginning in 1880. First, there has been the development of the so called public services, such as transportation and electric lighting and power caused by two factors, the progress of science and the growth in population. Second, the adjustment of the governmental machine to cope with the problems of progress. Third, the constant, if not uniform, desire to concentrate responsibility in the mayor. Fourth, the laudable but hardly successful attempt to separate city business from national influences. And, fifth, the constant growth of State control of what is, fundamentally, the City's own private concerns. These latter influences have come into being because of Boston's peculiar position. A concentration of industry, commerce and intellectual businesses within a few square miles, the city is not merely host to its own legal citizens, but the workshop of the millions who commute to it daily from as many as 60 towns and cities. And, also, the city is the capital of the Commonwealth and the business center of most of New England—all of the five northernmost states and a good share of the sixth, Connecticut. Thus Boston has had not only its own problems to solve but also a heavy share of the responsibilities of all New England. Thus, whether it is just or even necessary, it is the fact that today, the General Court of the Commonwealth actually operates as a sort of appellate court to the City Council and the Governor is also the uncrowned Mayor of the City.

In 1880, Boston was still governed by the original City charter of 1822. It had been slightly revised in 1854 but it was still a horse and buggy system, well enough for simpler days but an antiquated set of checks and balances which made efficient and economical administration of a city of 362,839 souls impossible. The Mayor was only nominally the chief executive; he appointed only a few departmental heads, subject to the approval of his Council and his veto could be readily overridden. It was the City Council and the Board of Aldermen which were the real government. They replaced the Board of Selectmen literally, having both legislative and administrative powers. Too numerous for ready control, all their members ambitious and prone to practice "log-rolling," the city's government was decentralized to an extreme, slipshod and a splendid example of the spoils system. Power

gravitated into the hands of bosses. Lack of budgeting and control resulted in financial extravagance and waste—if not in outright grafting. As stated by the Finance Commission's report, the government of the City in the early 80's had its chief fault in the fact "that there was no single person to hold responsible in the press or at an election for anything that was done; the citizens felt themselves powerless to check the extravagance, waste and corruption which prevailed. The lack of executive power was the weakness of the system, and the difficulty was largely increased by the changed conditions which time, modern inventions, and a larger and more diversified population had brought about. . . . By 1882, the functions of the Mayor had become . . . merely advisory."

Nevertheless, Boston was better off than most American cities of the time. They were sunk to such depths that James Bryce observed, "There is no denying that the government of cities is the one conspicuous failure of the United States." Boston's city government was clumsy and lacked responsibility—but it was free from the scandals and gross corruptions that existed in New York's Tweed Ring and in Philadelphia's Gas Ring.

But expenditures and inefficiency grew so alarming that, by 1873, the movement for a revision of the charter had begun. Nothing came of the agitation, although many mayors, such as Mayor Frederick O. Prince in 1880 declared that the revision was an absolute necessity. Finally, in 1884 a Commission was actually appointed to consider the advisability of revising the charter. The Commission went to work and proposed a sweeping alteration in the system which, although it met with popular approval, was pigeon-holed by the Council. Then, in 1885, a citizen's committee, reaching over the heads of the Council, appealed to the General Court, offering a bill which effected a few of the changes advised by the Commission. These were in effect amendments to the charter and were passed by the Legislature and put into effect without reference to the voters. Their principal effect was that of, in a measure, separating the executive from the legislative and in concentrating the power in the Mayor's hands. All executive boards and officers were removed from control of the Council and Aldermen and made accountable to the Mayor. The Council and Board were expressly prohibited from concern with executive and administrative offices, particularly in respect to contracts, employment of labor and the purchase of materials. In addition, the Mayor was given greater appointive powers and his veto strength was extended and strengthened.

This was the first expression of the desire to concentrate responsi-

bility in the Mayor's office but it still left much to be desired. In practice, the changes did not work out well and several of them became dead letters. Financial control was still inadequate and, due to the lack of any system of organization and centralization of functions and departments, waste and extravagance still continued. Perhaps these things were responsible for the beginning of direct interference by the State with the City's business.

First, in 1885, the State passed legislation taking the police force out of the control of the City. Boston still had to pay the bills but a State appointed board controlled the police, not the Mayor. This transfer was not brought about because of any corruption or scandal in the police department but because the police were generally regarded as being governed too much by city politicians, as in the alleged laxity with which the police enforced the liquor license provisions.

Second, out of this police business, came the first state law fixing the tax limit for the city. Taxation for municipal business could not exceed \$9 on every \$1000 of the average valuation of the preceding three years. This rate remained in effect until 1900. And, associated with this second interference by the State, was the General Court's act in reducing the debt limit from three percent to two percent of the valuation, as of 1887.

It should be pointed out, again, that this interference was not caused by any particular scandal but actually invited by Mayor Hugh O'Brien and the members of the Reform Association, who turned to the General Court for a means of checking the rapidly mounting taxes and indebtedness—two factors beyond the control of the Mayor's office as things originally stood.

Both items of State interference were enacted without reference to the City Council or to the voters. It was the action of a father imposing restrictions upon his unwilling children for the sake of their own good.

And 1885 is also memorable in that it witnessed the State's power imposing upon the city the so called merit system—the amendments to the charter provided that appointments to practically all subordinate positions in the City of Boston (and other cities of the Commonwealth as well) must be made from lists of eligibles made by the State Civil Service Commission from and through competitive examinations. Boston, despite itself, was thus one of the first large cities in the United States to go under Civil Service; New York having adopted it a year earlier. This merit system worked at once to reduce inefficiency through the vetoing of political appointments and it was as happy an improvement for the Mayors as for the taxpayers—for the pressure

brought to bear upon the Mayor for jobs was much more burdensome then than it is now, bad as it still is.

Not until 1909 was any considerable further alteration effected in the system of government, but numerous changes were accomplished nevertheless. These changes included, the gradual enlargement of municipal functions, the creation of new departments and the consolidation of existing departments, the lengthening of the term of Mayor to two years and various experiments with methods of electing the Board of Aldermen, reduction in the size of the School Committee, a growth in state control and an increase in expenditure and debt.

Two tendencies governed during this period. One worked for consolidation of existing departmental organizations; the other, the creation of new departments as growth necessitated new municipal services. Every mayor, from Hugh O'Brien in 1885 to George A. Hibbard in 1909 sought departmental integration in some detail or other. Opposed to them, were the desires of the politicians and bosses who desired to keep as many departments going as possible so as to have as many jobs as possible. Also opposing consolidation, were the forces of inertia and the further obstacles that Legislative approval was necessary from Beacon Hill. The first step towards consolidation came in 1889 when the Directors of Public Institutions, a Board with 12 members, was replaced by a Commission of Public Institutions of three members. In the early 90's, the Bridges, Sewers, and Sanitary Police Departments were consolidated with the Street Department. The Department of Wires was consolidated with the Fire Department so that, in 1895 there were five departments wiped out. In 1895 the Commission of Public Institutions was consolidated with the Institutions Department and the City Architect was fired. The same year election officers and responsibilities were gathered up and centralized in a Board of Election Commissioners. In 1899, cemeteries were gathered together under a single administrative department—but in 1897 the Institutions Department was disintegrated by being split into four sections.

New departments and boards created during this period, up to 1909, included the subway department in 1894, medical examination of school children (the first in America), a statistical department, a Soldiers' Relief Department, the Music Department, the Public Baths Department, the Art Department, the School House Department, the Law Department, a Supply Department and several others. As a result, in 1908, Boston had 46 departments, administered by some 150 heads and board members. This was not all to be condemned for it entailed bold leadership by the City in advancing the welfare of the

City. In 1910, D. F. Wilcox wrote, "Boston has undoubtedly done more than any other American city for the comfort and pleasure of the people. . . . Boston was a pioneer, and still maintains the leadership when it comes to the activity of the city government for the people of the whole community."

Charter amendment included several significant developments. Among them was the 1891 statute which gave the Mayor an effective veto over loans and, that of 1895, which lengthened his term to two years. A third change in 1905 cut the school committee greatly in size—from 24 members elected at large, to five members similarly elected: the separate School House Department being responsible for construction and maintenance.

Meanwhile, in this period, the General Court was continuing to extend its control of city business. The \$9 tax limit fixed first in 1885 was not raised until 1900 when it was lifted to \$10.50. There it remained until 1918, when the General Court agreed to fix it annually. Similarly, the debt limit was fixed to two percent in 1887 and kept there despite pressure until 1900 when it was made two and a half percent—where it now remains. However, this is something of an idle gesture since the General Court has so frequently authorized loans outside of the debt limit that the figure is meaningless.

The expenses of the City were increased by its early assumption of the entire expenses of Suffolk County—which consists of Boston, the cities of Chelsea and Revere and the Town of Winthrop. Since Boston comprises almost the familiar 99 and 44/100 percent of the county, the other two cities and the town felt that they were not being fairly treated. Boston offered to assume the expenses of the county if the three outsiders would surrender the right to vote for county officers. It was a bargain and ever since Boston has wailed over the situation. Hardly a Mayor, including the present incumbent Frederick Mansfield, but what has attempted to bring the three strayed sheep back into the fold. The three children, however, have turned a deaf ear; they know when they are well off, for county government in Massachusetts, particularly in respect to Suffolk County, is an anachronism.

But, even more, the expenses of Boston were multiplied by its growth and in its internal improvements, such as the rapid transit system, which is now administered by trustees at once for the good of the citizens and the good of the stockholders, tax money being used to pay dividends as well as to maintain the establishment. In 1880, the expenses of the City, including Suffolk County, were \$13,398,120.50, \$36.62 per capita. By 1908, they were \$33,781,127.25, \$52.22 per capita. Debt increased even more: from 1880's \$16,009,408.28 or

\$44.09 per capita to 1908's \$70,604,896.23, or \$104.39 per capita. Frightful? Certainly. Were they protested? Indeed they were!

Mayor Nathan Matthews, Jr., in 1895 wrote at length "explaining as best he might" the reasons for "an inordinate annual expenditure and a correspondingly heavy tax rate." From every mouth came charges that "extravagance, political influence and the unbusiness like organization and methods of administration played an important part." By 1908 the expected took place—for the first time in the history of Boston, expenses exceeded appropriations; there was a deficit. "In the ten years ending February 1, 1895, the debt increased by 59 percent; in the next twelve years, 1907, the debt increased 170 percent. After 1895, the debt grew seven and one half times as rapidly as the increase (or inflation) of the assessors' valuations."

But, just as the sky was darkest, relief came. Reported Mr. George R. Nutter in the *National Municipal Review*, "There was an uneasy feeling in the community that waste and extravagance . . . were flourishing; but nobody knew what to do about it, and no relief seemed in sight. Then, by a strange accident, when it was darkest, relief came. John F. Fitzgerald, who was elected Mayor in 1905, proposed a Finance Commission to be composed of seven citizens appointed by the Mayor on the recommendation of various commercial bodies. . . ." Declared Mayor Fitzgerald, he of "Sweet Adeline" fame, "What is required is a business examination of the subject by a body of such representative, able and impartial citizens of Boston that our taxpayers will have full confidence in the soundness of any conclusions which they may reach. . . ." In 1907, the City Council authorized the appointment of the Commission and gave \$50,000 for expenses. The General Court gave the body authority to summon witnesses and to compel the production of evidence and to take testimony. Mayor Fitzgerald appointed without compensation Nathan Matthews, Jr., Randall G. Morris, George U. Crocker, George A. O. Ernst, John F. Kennedy, John F. Moors and John A. Sullivan.

In July, 1907, the Commission went to work and "during the next 18 months Boston's government got such an overhauling as has seldom, if ever, been witnessed in any other American city." Some 127 reports were issued, in four large volumes; the Commission found plenty wrong. To summarize, the Commission reported that the executive department was divided among too many agencies, political reasons too often dictated appointments, the city payroll was heavily padded, the efficiency of labor employed was far below what it should be, money was "wasted outrageously in contracts," the City Council did not attend to business properly, the Council interfered with executive business

despite the prohibition provided in the charter, debt and expenditures grew more rapidly than either reasonably or necessary, and, finally, politics and the spoils system exercised an unwholesome effect. "It disclosed a state of extravagance and waste that stirred the community."

Although not appointed to do so, the Finance Commission sought to remedy the situation it discovered by making a thorough revision of the city's plan of government. It therefore drew up a new city charter, simplifying the business of government and making effective the amendments of 1885. The General Court in 1909 passed an act, practically in agreement with the Commission's plan. This new charter, such it was in effect, went into effect without reference to the voters, only a choice between two minor alternatives being offered. One of these provided for a single legislative council of nine elected from the city at large with the Mayor chosen for a four year term. The other plan proposed a two year term for His Honor and a council composed of nine members elected at large for three years plus one member elected for a year from each ward. The voters approved the first proposal.

The new council, replacing the bicameral system, went into office hedged by bristling restrictions, all intended to keep them strictly out of the Mayor's office. They could not obtain a single cent from the city for any reason, other than their fixed salary of \$1500 per annum. Also they were "prohibited from taking part in the employment of city laborers, in the appointment or removal of city employees, in the conduct of the city's executive or administrative business, in the construction or repair or maintenance of city property, in the making of contracts, in the purchase of real estate or supplies or materials, or in the expenditure of public funds, excepting for the legal expenses of the Council itself." This put the Council definitely in its place; they were no longer the heirs of the Board of Selectmen of the Town of Boston as they had been for 87 years.

One important other feature of the new arrangement was the complete concentration of responsibility for administration in the office of the Mayor. He alone appointed and removed heads of departments, excepting the school committee, still chosen directly by the people, and the departments into which the State had thrust its fingers—the Police, the Licensing Board and the newly created Finance Commission. This last Commission was and is unique. It consists of five members appointed for five years by the Governor. Four members serve without compensation; the chairman receives \$5,000 a year. They investigate, as they think it necessary, all business of the city in respect to administration and expenditures, everything in which tax money is

concerned. They report to the Mayor, the City Council, the General Court, the Governor and, in practice, at least, to the newspapers.

In general, the new charter was notable in eight points: the complete centralization of responsibility in the Mayor, the lengthening of the Mayor's term to four years, the small City Council limited in power and elected for four years, non-partisan nominations and elections, provision for an executive budget, the requirement of special qualifications for departmental heads, the establishing of an investigating body, a watch-dog, in the person of the Finance Commission, and various limitations in respect to contracts, expenditures, administrative detail, methods of borrowing and the like—all aimed at the reform of abuses and the creation of a better and less expensive government. The country at large was much interested in the reform and it was highly praised.

This charter is the present foundation of the City's government. Only five important changes have been made since 1909. In 1914, the requirement of 5,000 names for nomination of Mayor and Councillors was reduced to 3,000 for His Honor and 2,000 for other elected officers. In 1918, the dead letter provision for the recall of the Mayor at the end of two years was repealed and, in its place the rule made that no mayor could succeed himself. In 1924 the City Council was reformed to consist of one councillor from each ward for two year terms with nomination by 100 voters residing in the same ward as the councillor. In 1914, in 1921 and in 1924 election dates were changed, finally becoming biennial. The fifth change, in 1930, removed from the Mayor the duty of referring his appointments of departmental heads to the State Civil Commission as the 1909 charter provided. This was a welcome change for the Commission, as it had kept that body embroiled in Boston politics. One other important development was the creation of the so-called segregated budget. The charter provided that all appropriations should be initiated by the Mayor in detailed form in place of the lump budget previously used. In 1913, the Boston Chamber of Commerce requested reform in the lump budget as practiced by each department, demanding that details should be presented. Plans were offered by the Finance Commission but a deadlock resulting was not finally broken until 1917, when the office of Budget Commissioner was created. Henceforth, appropriations are itemized in detail sufficient to make practical, effective control of expenditures and enforcement of responsibility. The system is regarded as the best in any American City.

Since 1909, the same old business of consolidation of new departments and the addition of new ones has continued. In 1911 the

separate Street, Water and Engineering departments were made one under the name of Department of Public Works. In 1912, the Public Grounds, Bath and Music Departments were merged with the Board of Park Commissioners under the name of the Park and Recreation Department. In 1920 the Cemetery Department was added to the four and the whole made a single unit, the Park Department. In 1915 the Board of Health was changed into the Department of Health with several divisions and, the same year, the Quarantine Division was turned over to the Federal Government. In 1918, the Transit Department was established to replace the temporary Transit Commission.

Among other new departments, one of the most important was the City Planning Board, established in 1914, "to make careful studies of the resources, possibilities and needs of the city—and to make plans for the development of the municipality." This board has been most successful, particularly in respect to zoning—the segregation of industrial sections so that they do not invade residential areas to the degradation of the latter.

In 1921 the name of the Overseers of the Poor was changed to Overseers of Public Welfare, expressing its new ideals of service rather than mere charity.

In 1922, the City Retirement Board was created together with a pension system which, for years after, was regarded as one of the best in the country. In 1929, the Traffic Commission was set up to alleviate the congestion of automotive traffic which made some of the narrow, twisting downtown streets bedlams of confusion. Also in 1929, the Schoolhouse Department was abolished—being replaced by the Board of Commissioners of School Buildings. They serve without pay, their function being to select an expert Superintendent of Construction to take care of the Department's work.

Thus, today Boston City Government is just as large as in 1909, despite consolidation, always talked about and seldom effected. The Mayor sits at the top of the heap of 20,000 officers and employees. Under him is a Council of 22 members, 36 departments under his control, three departments concerning which the City has nothing to do but pay the bills, an elective School Committee, and an appointive City Clerk.

The 36 departments under the Mayor consist of: The Mayor's department with several bureaus, the art department, the assessing department, the auditing department, the budget department, the board of zoning adjustment, the building department, the board of appeal from the building department, the city planning department, the election department, the collecting department (taxes, you know), the fire

department, the health department, the hospital department, the institutions departments, the law department (corporation counsel), the library department, the market department, the overseers of the public welfare, the park department, the penal institutions department, the printing department, the public buildings department, the public works department, the registry department, the retirement board, the school buildings department, the sinking funds department, the soldier's relief department, the statistics department, the street-laying out department, the supply department, the traffic commission, the transit department, the treasury department, and the weights and measures department. This, incidentally, is a larger number of departments than exists in New York City and the fact affords candidates for the office of mayor with a perennial issue.

The three departments beyond the control of the mayor are the finance commission, already described, the licensing department, intended to remove from city officials the temptation of profiting by abuses, alleged of course, of the liquor traffic, and the police department. Much criticism has been levied against this violation of home rule by the State but, in practice, it has worked out well. Established on its modern footing by Commissioner Stephen O'Meara, the police have always had able and efficient commissioners and the department has been remarkably free from local politics and personal corruption. It is practically free from scandal; the only black mark against it is the police strike of lamented memory. But that was not all bad—for did it not give the United States, Calvin Coolidge?

Really, despite its cost, always under fire of late, Boston's city government is a huge public service agency, "the activities of which touch every phase of the social and economic life of the community and are vital to the welfare of every individual living within its boundaries. Not only does the city provide such important services as police and fire protection, streets, water, the removal of refuse and the care of the unfortunate, but there is no other city which has shown greater generosity in providing for the public such facilities as parks, public baths and gymnasia, in which field the city has been a pioneer. Her public library is unsurpassed in this country in the variety of its collections and in the extent of its service to the community; while her schools, especially the Boston Latin School, the history of which dates to 1635, have maintained a high standing. Through the Health Department, with its divisions of child hygiene, medicine, sanitation, food inspection, laboratories and vital statistics, and also through its hospitals, the city has guarded the health of the community so effectively that in 1930 the death rate stands at about one half of the rate existing

in the 80's. . . . Boston was also the first city in the United States to construct a municipally owned subway and, as congestion of population has increased, it has continued to extend and improve rapid transit facilities in accordance with a policy which has been regarded as 'an enlightened one and faithfully administered by those in charge.' The expansion of the city during the last half century is also indicated by the growth in city and county expenditures, which have increased from about \$13,500,000 in 1880 to more than \$76,000,000 in 1930. There is no question that the citizen now receives more from the city government than he did fifty years ago and that the increase in outlay, disturbing as it may be, has been due largely to the demand of the public for more and more services, as well as to the greatly diminished purchasing power of the dollar, whether applied to labor or commodities." (*Fifty Years of Boston*—A. Chester Hanford).

In the preceding section of this chapter, we made much of the calibre of the Mayors and of their expression of the Puritan spirit. Mayors in Boston's modern period still have much to say about Puritan ideals, though the evidence of them in practice is not so readily discernible. However, Boston is still, as before, fortunate in its mayors. As a whole they have been able, industrious and accomplished men. Recent Mayors are too well known to be subject to comment other than mention—the present incumbent, Mayor Frederick Mansfield; Mayor, recently Governor, James M. Curley, 1914-17, 1922-25, 1930-33; Malcolm E. Nichols, 1926-29; Andrew J. Peters, 1918-21; George A. Hibbard, 1908-09; and John F. Fitzgerald, 1906-07 and 1910-13. Back of them are other stalwarts, such as Hugh O'Brien, 1885-88, who was largely responsible for the City Point, Back Bay and West Roxbury developments, and who was active in the charter amendments of 1884 and vigorously fought state interference; such as Nathan Matthews, Jr., 1891-94, a scholar of city management, an exponent of economy and efficiency, who inaugurated many reforms, constructed the first subway, promoted public health, helped develop the water supply and the park system and in later life figured so largely in the original Finance Commission; such as Josiah Quincy, 1896-99, the third of his family and name to be Mayor of Boston, who is memorable for his interest in public welfare, schools and recreation—efforts to provide for the poorer folks "some of the comforts enjoyed by the more fortunately situated"; such as Patrick A. Collins, 1902-05, who became Mayor after serving in the General Court, in Congress and in the United States Diplomatic service and of whom President Cleveland said, "In public life he was strictly honest and sincerely devoted to the responsibilities which office holding involves." The other mayors

included: Frederick O. Prince, 1877, 79-81; Dr. Samuel A. Green, 1882; Albert Palmer, 1883; Augustus P. Martin, 1884; Thomas N. Hart, 1889-90, 1900-01; and Edwin U. Curtis, 1895. These are the men who are responsible for modern Boston, the leaders who made effective the needs of the people in so far as the limitations of the machinery and the power of Boston's citizens made possible. Taking them as a whole, and certainly if their predecessors back to 1822 are added, it may be safely said that no other American City has ever had such an able and distinguished group of executives.

METROPOLITAN BOSTON

When, a few years ago, the United States Bureau of the Census established metropolitan districts about the larger cities of the nation, the essential unity of what is properly known as Metropolitan Boston was recognized. In fact, the Federal authorities exceeded the claims of the promoters of the metropolitan area. The latter were content to claim 43 cities and towns with an area of 457 square miles and a 1930 population of 1,955,168. The Government included 19 cities and 61 towns with an area of 1,021 square miles and a 1930 census population of 2,300,000.

Thus, even today, the question of how big is Boston and just what area is the metropolitan area, has not been determined. Certainly it is not the original small settlement on the tiny peninsula in Boston Harbor. Even in the early days, the colonists, seeking ever room and more room, began filling in the several coves and broad acres of tidal marshes indenting and bordering the peninsula, a work which, after three centuries, is still being completed—if such it ever will be. The first method was simply that of scooping off the tops of Boston's three hills. After they were leveled in part—one of them, Fort Hill, is vanished utterly, for a time dirt was hauled in from adjacent hills. But, recently, this has proved too expensive and the citizens have been killing two birds with one stone by dredging out the harbor's bars and pumping the material through pipes for fill. The great stretch of the East Boston Airport is the latest example of this ingenious method.

While this physical growth has been fairly constant, the political development has not been either all in one direction or uniform. After the initial period of colonial expansion, there set in the general State-wide business of dividing up the towns that had grown too big for their boots. Boston lost the present Brookline area in 1705 and in 1739 Chelsea was set off. Chelsea, incidentally could not retain its wide expanse of drumlin studded marshes but lost the area known for

a time as North Chelsea, which was subsequently divided into the present Revere and Chelsea.

However, soon after the 19th century began, the movement was reversed and Boston started out on its long trail to bigger and better and busier things, in Mayor "Honey" Fitzgerald's phrase. In 1804 South Boston was annexed, it then being known as Dorchester Heights. In 1855, Dorchester lost another large part of its area, the section known as Washington Village. Meanwhile the business of filling in the coves and marshes became an interest of major capitalism. The first big development was the filling in of the Mill Pond which extended from Haymarket Square to the present Causeway Street and the North Station. To obtain the fill, Beacon Hill was lowered 110 feet—leaving it high enough to climb however. Among other such projects was the ambitious one of filling in the area now known as the Back Bay. This area was originally a wide tidal marsh from the Common at the foot of Beacon Hill to the hills of Brookline, extending cross-wise from the Charles River to Boston Neck, roughly the present Washington Street, a narrow lane between the marsh and what is now the altered tidal creek known as Fort Point Channel.

Someone had the bright idea of making this tidal basin a source of power, not electrical power like the late Quoddy project of the WPA but a water power system in which the tide water, rushing each way twice daily would turn water wheels. It was a good idea, for tide mills were, a century ago, paying investments. Accordingly, in 1814, the Boston and Roxbury Mill Corporation was formed and a dam was soon built along the present line of Beacon Street from the Common near Charles Street to Sewall's Point in Brookline, with a secondary dam along what is now Brookline Avenue. These dams were wide, for the time, and were projected with the idea of making them toll roads.

The roads were a splendid idea and became very popular. Known as the mill-dam, the main dam was nicknamed the Speedway and was used as a very fashionable promenade and informal race track for the be-ribboned carriages of wealthy Boston in summer and for their gay sleighs in winter. A whirl down the speedway of an afternoon or evening was the delight of the elite and many stories of the rivalry of horses and the gaiety of young folks remain in the writings of the time—the period from about 1820 to 1880.

The power idea, however, was doomed to failure. In 1824 a new company, the Boston Water Power Company, took over some of the assets of the original company but, by 1850, it was evident that the power project was impossible. The State and the City having begun



LOWER MUNICIPAL BOSTON, SHOWING WATERFRONT AND CUSTOM HOUSE TOWER

disputing over several points, a joint commission was appointed in 1852 to dispose of the entire business. This commission in due time suggested that the entire area inside the dams be filled and the made land divided between the conflicting interests. This idea was accepted and 570 acres of new land were forthwith created. Thus the Back Bay came into being. For a while the new land was highly fashionable but then, as the city marched along, first the section known as the South End went down into slums and constantly, commerce and rooming houses and apartments have been nibbling away at the sole remaining blue-blood area, the section between Copley Square and Massachusetts Avenue and the Common and Gardens and Boylston Street and the Charles River. Probably, as one by one the dignified old mansions are being torn down to be replaced by snug apartments or being remodeled for stores and shops of one kind or another, it will not be long before the Back Bay that remains will be no more.

Despite the huge addition of Back Bay lands, Boston was still growing too big for its area and the emigration to the suburbs began about 1860. It was fostered, indeed, made possible, by so called rapid transit. The steam railroads, of course, played their share but it was the street railroads that made the rural suburbs over into congested duplicates of Boston. The first street railway led from Cambridge to Boston. Horse drawn, it was started in 1854 and completed within two years. Its success was shortly copied by other lines from the City to Dorchester, Brookline and Roxbury and these in turn were extended on and on; distance being accomplished by changing horses at relay stations. The cars were heated by wood-burning stoves in winter but even so were highly uncomfortable. For example, the floors of the cars were heaped with straw in colder weather so that patrons could keep their feet warm.

Even so, the more prosperous middle class folks welcomed the opportunity to get out of town to sleep and the routes of the car lines were soon built up by folks who kept their families in the suburbs while they worked in Boston.

It is owing to this method of settlement of the suburbs that metropolitan Boston came into being—for the developers of the suburbs were Boston citizens, urbanites who brought with them Boston ideas and Boston methods. Thus, each suburb became a copy of Boston—a copy adjusted to fit the town meeting plan suitable to the size of the community at first and then further modified by city charters and representative town meetings as the growth of the suburbs necessitated. And, in addition to this political relationship, there was the close tie of business interests, social interests, educational interests—Boston in

sober fact was the hub of a wide arc of towns, towns which were, in substance, little more than bedrooms for the city.

The City Fathers were not at all content to lose all these citizens and taxable property, so agitation began to bring the children back under the dome of City Hall. First attempts were fruitless. But, by 1867 the business did begin. That year Roxbury voted to unite with Boston and in 1870 the town of Dorchester followed suit. Within the next four years the General Court deigned to allow Brookline, Brighton, (Allston included), Charlestown and West Roxbury to annex themselves to Boston. All but Brookline accepted; that town saw no benefits likely and believed that there were many disadvantages. The impression that Boston has much to gain and Brookline more to lose still persists—and seems likely to continue.

This wave of annexation has apparently exhausted the credulity of the suburbs for, with the single exception in 1912 of Hyde Park, no other town or city has since listened to the blandishments of Boston. It is not that Boston has not tried several times to continue its growth. In 1891 a very serious essay was made by the City under stimulus from Sylvester Baxter and the *Boston Herald*. A state commission was actually appointed to plan "a system of metropolitan control" for an area extending out in a ten mile radius. An elaborate report was prepared—but that was as far as the business progressed. Then, in 1919, Mayor Andrew J. Peters made similar proposals. For ten years the Peters' campaign was conducted—unsuccessfully. In 1931 Mayor, now Governor James M. Curley tried his capable hand—but even his persuasive powers were not enough. The reason boils down to a very simple fact, the tax rate. Boston's taxes are very high and the citizens have, practically, little to say about them. The suburban rates are much lower and the citizens fix them, by and large, directly. Why change? Why surrender self-government? Why, indeed!

However, if Metropolitan Boston is politically a dead letter, a very real Metropolitan Boston exists in addition to the community of business, social and intellectual interests. This is so because of the various metropolitan services, services of common value to the entire district.

The Metropolitan services began in 1870 with a plan for a system of parks and boulevards centering along the Charles River. This grew into a proposal for Metropolitan city planning with the idea of preserving beauty spots and beaches. Shortly, a medical joint commission was suggested to make a general health control possible.

These plans were just talked about for years but, by 1889 the sewage dumped by the suburbs into Boston Harbor became so serious a health menace that something just had to be done. Accordingly,

the Metropolitan Sewer District was established to dispose of the sewage of the entire district.

The Sewer District worked out so very well that two more metropolitan boards were soon created. First, in 1895, was the Metropolitan Water Board. Since a large water system would be cheaper than several smaller ones, the plan was welcomed by almost all of the suburbs. A great system was developed, with water obtained at points near Worcester and pumped all the way to distributing reservoirs in Boston and the suburbs for use by all the towns and cities of the Metropolitan District who cared to pay for the water they used. Second, at the same time, the old plan of a Metropolitan Park system came into actual being with the creation of the Metropolitan Park Commission. This board took over many varied and beautiful as well as valuable sites; among them, Revere, Nahant, and Nantasket Beaches, the Middlesex Falls, the Blue Hills and others. In general only the larger areas were taken away from the several towns and cities; the smaller ones being left to local control. In 1901, the Water and Sewage boards were combined into the Metropolitan Water and Sewage Board which, as its duties and responsibilities increased was, in 1919, made into the present Metropolitan District Commission—a very real big business.

All in all, it has worked out extremely well. Metropolitan Boston has one of the largest and best water systems in the world—even if billions of dollars are invested in it. The sewer system is also of the highest grade. Both services are accomplished efficiently, for the most part, although scandal has reared its head at times, as in September, 1936, in connection with the awarding of construction contracts. In general, the Metropolitan system, work as well as it does, has one fault: a political flaw. It violates the Massachusetts' principle of local self-government, because the citizens of the towns concerned have nothing to say about its management. The State determines what operations are undertaken and what the costs shall be. The people who use the services pay the bills, bills in which they have no direct voice in contracting.

On this point, the Commission as it existed in 1896, reported, "A system of metropolitan control which permits the Legislature, representing the entire Commonwealth, to tax the people of the district not for state but for local purposes, and then, having deprived them of all but a fractional voice in the levying of the tax, decrees that the money shall be spent by those whom the payers of the tax have no voice in appointing and over whom they can exercise no control, is not a system which can be reconciled with the American political methods.

That good work has been done under it is not an argument in its defense."

Several efforts have been made to create this control but they have not succeeded. A Metropolitan District Planning Board was one such, and the Commission of Metropolitan Improvements was another. But they talked and planned and finally ended up in 1923 as a division of the Metropolitan District Commission itself!

Thus, the present situation is somewhat anomalous. Here are these several cities and towns, each with their theoretically independent governments, yet all served with water, sewage, parks, beaches and the rest in common and with nothing to say about their development, management or costs. Naturally, this situation should not continue. How it will be solved, and when, is something that the future alone will disclose.

As of December 1936, what is generally considered to be Metropolitan Boston consists of the following towns and cities:

Essex County: Lynn, 1631, a city since 1850; Nahant, a town out of Lynn in 1853; Saugus, a town out of Lynn in 1815; Swampscott, a town out of Lynn in 1852.

Middlesex County: Arlington, a town out of Cambridge in 1867; Belmont, a town out of Watertown, Waltham and Arlington in 1859; Cambridge, 1631, a city since 1846; Everett, a city out of Malden in 1870; Lexington, a town out of Cambridge in 1713; Malden, a city since 1881, out of Charlestown; Medford, 1630 a city since 1892; Melrose, a city out of Malden in 1850; Newton, a city out of Cambridge in 1691; Reading, a town out of Lynn in 1644; Somerville, out of Charlestown, a city since 1871; Stoneham, a town out of Charlestown in 1725; Wakefield, a town out of Reading in 1812; Waltham, out of Watertown, a city since 1884; Watertown 1630, a town; Weston, a town out of Watertown in 1713; Winchester, a town, in 1850 out of Arlington, Medford and Woburn; Woburn, out of Charlestown in 1642, a city since 1888.

Norfolk County: Braintree, 1640; a town; Brookline, a town out of Boston in 1705; Canton, a town out of Stoughton in 1797; Cohasset, a town out of Hingham in 1770; Dedham, 1636, a town; Dover, a town out of Dedham in 1784; Milton, a town out of Dorchester in 1662; Needham, a town out of Dedham in 1711; Norwood, a town, out of Dedham and Walpole in 1872; Quincy, out of Braintree in 1792, a city since 1888; Stoughton, a town out of Dorchester in 1726; Walpole, a town out of Dedham in 1724; Wellesley, a town out of Needham in 1881; Westwood, a town out of Dedham in 1897; Weymouth, 1623, town.

Plymouth County: Hingham, 1635, a town; Hull, 1644, a town.

Suffolk County: Boston, 1630, a city since 1822; Chelsea, a city out of Boston in 1739, city charter in 1857; Revere, out of Chelsea in 1846, present name assumed in 1871, city charter in 1914; Winthrop, a town out of Revere, then North Chelsea, in 1852.

THE PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS

One of the glories of Boston, and of Metropolitan Boston as well, is the park system. Other cities have their famous gardens and beaches—Boston has both of these and other attractions besides with the distinguishing feature that the units of the recreational facilities are all integrated into a homogeneous system. This system has two parts, those controlled by the City of Boston and those under the Metropolitan District Commission. The former embraces 2,446 acres of parks, 372 acres of playgrounds and 43 miles of parkway; the latter 9,681.32 acres of parks, known as reservations, and 1,519.15 acres of parks, known as parkways, through which 102.57 miles of roads run. Many millions of dollars have been spent upon the development; one of the most recent, for example, the Charles River Basin already having cost more than five millions with the work only partially being completed.

The parent of this huge and elaborate system is, of course, the Common. Set aside as an open space in 1634, the historic village green in the heart of modern Boston, is the center of all that has been developed. Down through three centuries, multitudes of proposals have been made to utilize the acres of the Common for commercial and for civic purposes. Save for temporary buildings erected for limited periods of a few months only in times of emergency, as during the World War, the Common still remains, practically as large as in the beginning, the most cherished apple of Boston's eye. Its immemorial elms, its historic malls, its Frog Pond and its monuments—the Common is the epitome of Boston.

The first extension of the Common was accomplished not much more than two thirds of a century ago—all Boston's park system is that youthful. The first step was taken when the Back Bay fill was made. Just as soon as the power project of the promoting company was abandoned and it was decided to fill in the huge area for house sites, it was determined that a part of it should be set aside for public purposes. Accordingly, in 1859, an oblong south west of the Common, extending its base, was segregated and transformed into the Public Gardens. The magician's wand which transformed the once tide swept

muddy expanse of reeds and grasses into the present beauty must surely be one of the triumphs of American horticulture. The Gardens project was followed a few years later by the laying out of Commonwealth Avenue, carrying a double roadway with a narrow park between, from the Gardens out to Massachusetts Avenue. The Avenue, only a hundred feet wide, seems nothing much today, when highways dart across the state six car lanes wide, but in the 60's it was a very wide parkway, indeed.

With this development, Boston Parks came to a halt for nearly a generation. There was agitation indeed, but nothing real was accomplished until 1875 when the Boston Park Commission was accepted by the Legislature and the citizens. Still a few years passed before anything was accomplished; the system was waiting for its electrifying genius. He came in the person of Frederick L. Olmstead, creator of New York's Central Park and Brooklyn's Prospect Park. Called to Boston he drew up a comprehensive system, obtained funds and started the work. Within four years, six new parks had been laid out and \$4,000,000 spent. Impetus was given to the development through the will of George Francis Parkman. Drawn in 1877, on Mr. Parkman's death in 1908 (by 1920), \$5,200,000 was set up in a fund the income of which is devoted to the maintenance and development of Boston's Parks.

Today, the link between the Gardens and the outer Parks, Commonwealth Avenue, remains unchanged, but beyond, the development has been considerable. The Fens pick it up just beyond Massachusetts Avenue, being linked in by the Charles River Cosplanade from Charles Street. The Fens reach into the Riverway to Jamaica Pond and on to the Arnold Arboretum. From there, easterly, a parkway leads on to Forest Hills and Franklin Park and Franklin Field. To the south, the Stony Brook and Bellevue Hills Parkways lead out through West Roxbury. Going Eastward from Franklin Park, the Strandway and Columbia road run to South Boston, past beaches to City Point, Columbus Park and the Aquarium in Marine Park with Castle Island and Pleasure Bay ending the eastward progress. In addition to this single system, are several supplementary parks, numerous small ones and the larger ones, such as East Boston's World War Memorial Park (Wood Island), the Chestnut Hill Reservoir, the Charlestown Playground, North End Park and the rest.

And what diversified features they have. There are the gardens, formal and elaborate as in the Public Gardens, and specialized as in the Franklin Park Rose Garden near the Franklin Rock Garden and Herbaceous Garden. There are the water front parks—Wood Island,

Columbia Road, Marine Park. There is the river park, the Charles River series. There is the meadow park, winding from the Charles River to the Jamaica Pond, now a lush meadow, now a formal estate, and then, for a stretch, a wilderness. Franklin Park's square mile of expanse provides considerable diversification—pastures, woodlands, hills and meadows. And there are the less formal parks. Hemlock Grove in the Arboretum, rising from a rhododendron bowered brook to a rocky and steep summit crowned with thousands of aged hemlocks, is a veritable forest land. Stony Brook is even wilder, with Turtle Pond and its circling woods so "wild" that few folks ever wander there; it is veritably a wilderness. Other parks, most of them small, offer wide prospects. Such is Bunker Hill with its monument, and Highland Park in Roxbury and Bellevue Hill in Stony Brook Reservation with their towers.

In addition to these beautiful Parks, there are the more utilitarian playgrounds. The one on the Charles bank began the municipal recreational system in 1886 and it was so successful as a play area that similar projects developed all over the city, including areas set aside for play in the larger parks. Today 372 such areas are developed to play exclusively. The equipment includes swimming pools, gymnasias, stadia, tennis courts, squash courts, and, among other things, a really first class golf links, the only objection to which is the fact that it is so good that it is too popular. Supervised play on these grounds is now a regular item on the annual budget and children, girls, youths and men are encouraged to recreate themselves by all means of play imaginable—from contests, tournaments and team play to individual instruction in posture, handicrafts and a multitude of other modern practices.

Finally, knit into and extending beyond the city's parks and playgrounds is the Metropolitan system. This latter system is probably Boston's greatest glory—from the point of view of beauty and recreation. The system is, in fact, not only the oldest in the country but one of the largest and most diversified.

Actually, the Metropolitan Park system is only a generation old. It had its beginning in 1892 when the year old Board of Trustees of Public Reservations, a State wide board, called together interested citizens with the idea of suggesting parks and reservations about Greater Boston. The meeting was followed by a Metropolitan Park Commission in 1893 and a Metropolitan Park District including Boston and 36 adjacent towns and cities with an initial fund of \$1,000,000. The Commission went to work immediately and, within a few years had acquired nearly 7,000 acres, divided as follows: Blue Hills, 4,232

acres; Middlesex Fells, 1,802 acres; Stony Brook, 461 acres; Charles River, 246 acres; Beaver Brook, 58 acres; Hemlock Gorge, 24 acres and Revere Beach, 66 acres. In addition, the so called Boulevard Act of 1894, passed for the purpose of allowing the Commission to acquire and build parkways connecting the reservations, added some 10 miles of road—all this within three years.

Since this initial spurt, the growth has not been very great; Nantasket Beach, in 1899, being the only larger tract added. By and large, most of the development has been in improving areas obtained and in building miles of parkways to supplement the Boston system and to tie the Metropolitan units to one another and to Boston. Such parkways include the Lynn Fells, Alewife Brook, Dedham, Furnace Brook and the Old Colony Parkway. These roads now exceed 100 miles in length. The greatest expense the past few years has been along the Charles River, Boston side, made necessary by the building of a new road from the North Station Circle at the Charles River dam up along the Charles—a road built out into the water area for the purpose of relieving the congestion of traffic along Charles and Beacon streets.

It is observable that a new spirit of expansion is now beginning to animate the Park system and it is likely that considerable advance will be made as soon as present financial stringency is relieved. The major proposal now dammed back by lack of funds is the so called Bay Circuit. This plan would link the entire eastern part of the state in a wide arc of parks starting at Plum Island, near Newburyport and running in a deep half circle south back of Boston to Plymouth on the South Shore. If accomplished, it will crown the park system begun 300 years ago with Boston Common.

CHAPTER XLVII

Law and Order

BEFORE THE REVOLUTION

In the beginning Massachusetts was just about as "lawyerless" as it is humanly possible for an association of humans to be. The stout-hearted settlers rather plainly believed that lawyers were one of the inflictions of the flesh that they could very well do without in the new world they were creating. But, if New England was lawyerless, it was just as far from being lawless as the steadfast purpose of the Founding Fathers could accomplish. There was law—not very many statutes, of course, as compared with today when law-making often seems to be the greatest American sport—but what laws existed were very comprehensive and, most important, they were rigidly enforced.

The legal background, naturally, was the English law; the colonists brought it with them. It was part and parcel of their being. Indeed, several of the Bay Colony's leaders were well read in law. Such were Winthrop and Bellingham, while Ward was, although in fact a clergyman, an accomplished lawyer if not a practicing one. The dependence of the Colony upon the English system is shown by the following order, adopted by the General Court in 1647. "It is agreed by the Court, to the end that we may have better light for making and proceeding about laws, that there shall be these books following procured for the use of the Court from time to time: Two of Sir Edward Coke upon Littleton; two of the Book of Entries; two of Sir Edward Coke upon the Magna Carta; two of the New Terms of the Law; two of Dalton's Justice of the Peace; two of Sir Edward Coke's Reports." For the time, this law library was not only comprehensive but outstandingly practical for men 3,000 miles away from England over a very stormy ocean.

Next of importance, of course, was the Charter upon which the existence of the Bay Colony was based. In the most real sense, the various provisions of the Charter, amplified by the agreements made by the immigrants themselves, as of August 26, 1629, was the immediate

basis of the Colony. The Charter was both the ideal and the practical contract under which they risked their lives and their property, and under which they anticipated preserving such values as they created in the new world. One clause of the Charter exemplified this fundamental fact clearly. It is the very beginning of constitutional guarantee of personal liberty; that very principle which runs through all documents which express the political philosophy of America. The clause reads: "That all and every of the subjects of us, our heirs and successors which shall go to and inhabit within the said land and premises and every one of their children which shall happen to be born there or on the seas in going thither, or returning from thence shall have and enjoy all liberties and immunities of free and natural subjects within any of the dominions of us, our heirs and successors to all intents, constructions and purposes whatsoever as if they and every of them were born within the realm of England."

However, while Massachusetts law and order was thus based, first upon English common law, and, second, upon specific points stressed in the charter, in practice it soon developed that another kind of law was necessary. The leaders of the Colony, it must be remembered, were alone in a wilderness with England further away comparatively than Australia is today from Boston. Thus, when it came to putting into practice their laws, it was necessary to interpret them liberally. In fact, it was necessary to use just as much as they thought fitting and proper, just what was applicable to a new world.

Since this was not enough of a system of law to meet everyday needs—the Founding Fathers were individualists, not regimented sheep—a third source of authority had to be found and applied. This was ready and waiting, right at hand in a source which every person knew and which practically every person respected—the Bible. Thus, although the Colonists were straightly enjoined not to make any law repugnant to the laws of England, they had hardly set foot upon the yellow glacial till of the drumlins of Boston, than they began the establishment of what is now the Massachusetts Common Law—they brought with them their General Court, a law making and a law weighing, justice dispensing body. The common law thus established out of the blend of the three sources is still today in force, excepting for those portions which have been specifically repealed or have become obsolete as social and economic development has necessitated.

In passing it needs to be declared that the success of the lawyerless infant Colony was not only due to the marvelous leadership of Winthrops, Bradfords, Brewsters, Cottons, Endicotts and the rest, but also to the many unremembered ministers of the Colony's church, the

Congregational establishment. It is fashionable to think hardly of the black-gowned clerics of those days; to think more of their witch-hanging and Quaker persecuting than of their day by day loving and inspired service to the men and women of their churches, folks who literally were their flocks. They had their faults and their prejudices, they were humans and their task was a difficult one, but they, as a body, were the leaders of their respective towns. They were ministers first of all—but they were also the doctors, the teachers and—the lawyers, too. Modern clergymen like to mix politics with their preaching. There is no sin in that. But few of our modern Cottons have the deep sympathy, the broad understanding, and the close relationship with human nature that the thundering parsons of the Bay Colony enjoyed. They were the background of support of law and order upon which such men as Winthrop reared this Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The ministers indeed were the force which actually codified the beginning of the Massachusetts law. Winthrop and the rest, mindful of possible difficulties with the Crown, were content not to seek formal expression of the common law they were developing. Winthrop said, “. . . raise up laws by practice and custom. . . .” This was done. But by 1640, it was clear that the rules needed to be collected, clearly stated and codified to prevent abuses. Two ministers were selected for the job, John Cotton and Nathaniel Ward. The former represented the Bible—Moses. The latter, the English system—Sir Edward Coke. In 1641 the combined draft was revised and sent to the towns for consideration. For several years, revision and consideration was repeated. This was no light matter, this framing of a code of laws. Prayer and fasting went hand in hand with careful study and protracted debate. Finally, the success of Cromwell enabled the Colony to risk the displeasure of the Crown and in 1648-1649, the Code was formally adopted, accepting the Body of Liberties which had grown up under constant cultivation for nearly ten years. In essence, the Code of 1648-1649 is a level headed statement of the right to independent local self government. It was the political philosophy which resulted in the Revolution.

Once a code of laws was established, it followed that the legal profession must soon be recognized. In the beginning, while the ministers settled many cases, the magistrates acted much as judges in minor cases today. Forms were very simple because cases were, as a rule, very simple, being mostly actions for debt, trespass in various forms and problems of land titles. It seems that some of the Colonists enjoyed litigation (it was not expensive in those days, each man stating

his own case) and eventually it became the practice for disputants who were not blessed with a ready flow of speech to hire a man to talk for them. These men were, of course, attorneys, though not lawyers in the sense that they were not educated in law. This was, on the whole, a satisfactory system, for the Colonists were prejudiced against the fine cobwebs of legal argument and had a simple faith that truth was mighty and must prevail. But, of course, alas for this high idealism, things did not work out in practice and troubles with the crown, the Charter controversy of 1664, the horror of the witch hangings and problems of land titles soon made it clear that, even as the Colony needed educated men in the pulpit, so did it need educated men in the courts. Thus the bar began to be created. At first, it was only necessary for an attorney to take an oath and by 1686, about which time one Thomas Newton began to call himself a "barrister," it was beginning to be considered proper for a man to undertake serious reading in the law before setting up as a representative of litigants. Eventually, the apprentice system, common in all trades, was applied to the bar and, throughout the 18th century men who wanted to be "barristers" first served a term in the law office of some "barrister" before taking the oath and going into court. This oath practice was recognized by the General Court in 1701. It was essentially the same as today and was, in effect, "a condensed code of ethics." As a light upon conditions as the Colony approached its first centenary, the General Court in 1708 provided ". . . and no person shall entertain (hire) more than two of the sworn allowed attorneys at law, that the adverse party may have liberty to retain others of them to assist him upon his tender of the established fee which they may not refuse." As a further highlight, consider Judge Samuel Sewall's remark about "barristers," "Let them remember they are to advise the Court as well as plead for their clients."

With this start, and in ready response to the rapidly developing prosperity and complexity of Massachusetts, the bar grew rapidly into power—although it was not really until another hundred years had passed that the business of being a lawyer was respectable. A lawyer was distinctly inferior to a clergyman and even a merchant, if the merchant was financially successful. And with the bar becoming important, naturally, its leading members became persons of importance if not of position, as such. John Read was perhaps the first great Massachusetts lawyer. He came into prominence about 1722. A man of unusual talents, he accomplished a very great deal in establishing forms and precedents. His successor in importance was Benjamin Pratt of Cohasset who was made Chief Justice of New York in 1761.

To mention but a third great lawyer of the pre-Revolutionary period, Jeremiah Gridley was a giant of those days. At first a clergyman, this Harvard man turned to the law about 1730 and made a great name for himself. He has been called "The Father of the Bar." Grand Master of Masons of the North American Jurisdiction from 1755 to 1767, he was widely known and respected outside of the courts. He taught several famous pupils, among whom was James Otis, Jr. When Otis fought the Writs of Assistance in 1761, Gridley appeared for the Crown—pupil against master.

At no time during the pre-Revolutionary period, was the Bar at all numerous. As far as can be learned the number actively practicing did not exceed 25 on the average at any one time. And, of this number, still fewer were really good lawyers. They were attorneys, for the most part, not lawyers. This is understandable because, before about 1700, there were no lawyers as such in the State at all. By the middle of the century, however, the two generations of the Bar had developed a tradition which began to attract men of ability and, to a much more important degree, the troubles of the time, the shadows of the controversies which were to culminate in the Revolution, drew men into the profession who, of the highest type, were actuated by motives of patriotism and saw in the Bar their opportunity to serve their State greatly. Serve greatly they did, for the Revolutionary Bar was of the greatest value and importance to the patriot cause. The patriot lawyers were men of large calibre; they overtopped the Bench itself!

Indeed, standards were set up by the Bar itself which were to be sadly lowered in later days and, in some instances are not today equalled. An aspirant to the bar had to be a college graduate or possessed "of a liberal education equivalent in the judgment of the bar." In 1769, the Essex County members of the bar met together and adopted the following rule: "It is agreed that we will not take any young gentlemen to study with us without previously having the consent of the Bar of this County; that we will not recommend any persons to be admitted to the Inferior Court as attorneys who have not studied with some barrister three years at least, nor as attorneys to the Superior Court who have not studied as aforesaid and been admitted at the Inferior Court two years at least nor recommend them as Barristers till they have been through the preceding degrees and been Attorneys at the Superior Court two years at least, except those gentlemen who are already admitted in this County as Attorneys at the Superior and Inferior Courts and that these must be subject to this rule so far as is yet to come. . . ."

Although a Bar is ordinarily considered the necessary precondition of a Bench, in Massachusetts, the judicial powers of the General Court were given to formal courts before the Bar was actually created. From about 1690 attempts were made to form a system of Courts. Because plans drawn included a court of chancery, the English authorities vetoed all suggestions until 1699 when "The Superior Judicature



WORCESTER COUNTY'S SECOND COURT HOUSE

Which stood on Court Hill, Worcester, from 1751 to 1801. Sold to make place for new court house, it was hauled by twenty yoke of oxen to Trumbull square, where it was the home of three generations of the Trumbull family. Doomed again, in 1899, its timbers and finish were purchased by Miss Susan Trumbull, and the mansion was rebuilt on Massachusetts Avenue, where it stands today, a simple, dignified Colonial residence set in an old-fashioned garden. The old arched courtroom, occupying the entire southern left side of the second floor, is in every ancient detail as it was when learned and austere judges in wig and crimson gown, dispensed justice. In this very doorway, Gen. Artemus Ward, chief justice, challenged and rebuked the participants in Shays' Rebellion, here encamped.

Court of Assize and General Gaol Delivery" was allowed. The Crown thought a chancery court in Massachusetts would be "against the interests of the King." The Courts which were later established did not contain any formal equity provision. Indeed, the State itself was prejudiced against granting equity to the courts, preferring to retain the function to the General Court. It was not until 1877 that the Supreme Court was given "equity jurisprudence" and not until 1883 that it was extended to the present Superior Court.

The first Superior Court actually was formed by the General Court

in 1692, although it was not approved by the Crown until 1699. It began to sit in 1692 and has continued ever since, thus making this first Massachusetts formal court the oldest such body in the United States. The personnel of the original court was selected from a wide variety of walks of life; it did not include any men particularly trained in law. The first chief justice was William Stoughton, the same man who presided over the Salem witch special court. He was a clergyman originally and a devoted friend of Harvard, giving the institution a legacy which was very substantial for the times. Throughout his life he displayed this unusual mixture of talents, preaching, bigotry and devotion to education. The other four members of the first court were Samuel Sewall, who has perpetuated himself and revealed himself in his famous diary; Wait Winthrop, a doctor of medicine and a grandson of John Winthrop; John Richards, a merchant; and Thomas Danforth. It was not until 1712 that the 14th man to be appointed to the Supreme Bench, was a lawyer. He was Benjamin Lynde, who had studied law in London. The second lawyer to be appointed was Paul Dudley in 1718.

These justices did not enjoy office "during good behavior." They could be removed at the pleasure of the Crown, although, in 1701, judges in England were granted the security of office denied to those off the Island. The idea back of this distinction was the hope of the Crown of keeping the Bench dependent upon the Crown. This was a difficult business and flared up from time to time as the hour of the Revolution approached, keeping the Courts in the minds of the people as the weapon of the Crown by which they were kept in subjection. One of the direct results of this policy came in Massachusetts in the long-drawn out conflict over the payment of the justices' salaries. If the General Court could pay them, the legislators reasoned, they held some sort of a club over the justices but, when the Crown decided that it should pay the salaries, then the Court felt indeed that they could not hope for impartial justice. Jefferson summarized this point when he charged the King with tyranny in making "judges dependent upon his will alone for the terms of their offices and the amount and payment of their salaries."

At the same time the Supreme Court was founded, the so called Inferior Courts were created. These provided for general peace sessions in each county of the province for criminal cases and also county courts of Common Pleas for civil business. Under the original set up, it was possible for a defendant to appeal twice, thus giving him three trials before a judgment became final. Thus, it was possible for a debtor to delay a judgment for as long as three years. English

interests objected to this legal difficulty in collecting their bills in Massachusetts and the system was changed somewhat in 1701 when a substitute court act was passed. However the delays still remained and, despite some further curtailment in 1754 and 1757, it was not until after Massachusetts became a State that justice was speeded a bit.

Theoretically, over the Massachusetts court system was the English Privy Council, to which an appeal could be taken. Most of Massachusetts hated the Privy Council and while every English subject had the right of appeal to his King, it was not considered fitting and proper for a citizen of Massachusetts to essay such an unpatriotic plea and they were almost unheard of until the Colony became a Province. The Charter of 1691, specifically called attention to the King and his Council as the court of final appeal, ". . . in any personal action, wherein the matter in difference doth exceed the value of 300 pounds sterling, provided that such appeal be made within" and under specified conditions. After this appeals to the Crown became more common although Massachusetts still remained stiff-necked about this recognizing the authority of the King to meddle in Boston business. For example, of the 265 appeals to the Privy Council from the Thirteen Colonies in the hundred years ending in 1780, only 44 came from Massachusetts—while Rhode Island sent 78, Virginia 53 and New York 21.

With the bar thus coming into flower and the bench thus established, Massachusetts set its stage for the legal battles which preceded the Revolution. One of these cases, that of the Writs of Assistance in 1761, is considered to be one of the most important ever argued on American soil. It was the first open opposition to the authority of the Crown and, in many ways, it was the signal for the Revolution. The case, that is Otis' eloquence and ideals, did not cause the Revolution—but the case did offer Otis his opportunity to enunciate his theories and to inflame his audience, amongst whom were such patriots as John Adams—men who were to fight the Revolution and nurse the infant nation resulting, into manhood.

The next great case in Massachusetts was the Stamp Act in 1765. Since the weight of patriotic opinion had ended the sale of stamps, no legal papers could be drawn. Courts were closed; lawyers were out of jobs. So, the lawyers went to work and sought to have the Governor and Council open the courts. It was in this case that the slogan "No taxation without representation" was advanced by the amplification of Otis' ideas. Otis, Gridley and John Adams argued this case for the patriots.

Side by side with this trio of patriotic lawyers were other great lawyers of the Revolutionary age. Two of them are outstanding. One was Joseph Hawley, who was the "big man" of Western Massachusetts. A firm patriot, he was yet calm and balanced in his judgments and exercised a great influence for sober conduct upon the younger firebrands of his profession. The other was Edmund Trowbridge. A legislator, a justice, his great value was as a teacher and a student of law. Among his students were Theophilus Parsons, Harrison Gray Otis, Francis Dana and other such leaders of the next generation.

As the Revolution dawned, the lawyers were, as is to be expected of such a conservative profession, inclined to moderation and opposed to the use of force. Most of them sought a middle course and it is said that John Adams alone of them all remained brimmed with "steady fire." Indeed, probably more lawyers were Tories than Patriots, not only in Boston, the capital, but in Salem and in Plymouth.

In the fall of 1774, the last session of the Provincial Superior Court of Judicature was held. Law and order, so far as British authority went, ended when that Court rose. Nothing officially was done at once to dismiss the justices by the people of the Province-becoming-State until later in 1775. Actually, however, Massachusetts was without a court for nearly a year. There were some local tribunals set up but they found little to do for, not only were the energies of the people engrossed in the coming struggle but the momentum of law and order, and the inherent decency of the English stock rendered the keeping of the civil peace automatic. However, soon after Lexington and Concord, and before the Siege of Boston was begun by Washington, the Second Provincial Congress, in answer to the beginning of outbreaks of trespass by some elements, and, to a much greater extent, in answer to the demand for a formal and authoritative system of law and order enforcement, resolved that the State of Massachusetts ought to establish courts. John Adams was invited to thrust his neck into the hangman's noose by being invited to be chief justice of the new State Court. He accepted, but it was September again before the First State Court was completely organized. Adams never took his seat on the bench; he was otherwise engaged. William Cushing of Scituate took his place, before going on to the United States Supreme Court. Thus, even under the gleam of British bayonets, law and order in Massachusetts began to function while the very existence of the State from which authority was derived, was a matter of the gravest doubt politically—not to mention the legal considerations involved.

THROUGH THE CIVIL WAR

While the period between the Revolutionary and Civil wars may be regarded as the formative era of Massachusetts law, the period in which the profession rose from a necessary but not polite trade to its present eminence as the profession which unlocks the doors of all opportunity to ambitious youth, the Bench and Bar both started out under a cloud. Shays' Rebellion was the thunder of that cloud. The uncertain political times following the adoption of the Constitution, the debts incurred during the Revolution, the wild speculations in land and business—all these culminated in trouble when the inevitable deflation took place. Particularly in the western half of the Commonwealth, the jails were crowded with debtors, the average prisoner being held for only very small amounts. But, under what seem to today's values, the very harsh laws of the new State, even a minor debt could jail a man and force his possessions under the auctioneer's hammer—which forced sale inevitably meant a sacrifice of the savings of many years' toil. What aggravated the particular situation was that a numerous group of men, hard-hearted Shylocks, practiced the very lucrative trade of going about in the depths of the depression and buying up for a song, the debts that storekeepers and dealers had drifted upon their books, and then taking the debtors thus purchased into court and compelling payment. Through illness, misfortune, or even absence in the Army, a patriotic farmer could very well come home and find his family in debt to the village tradesmen. Without a market for farm produce, the man of the family could not pay these debts at once. As long as the creditors remained neighbors, the business rested but when the creditors, forced to raise cash by the pressure brought by their own creditors, sold out their debits to the professional Shylocks—then, indeed, the farmers were in sorry plight. First, jail, then the enforcement of the law with loss of the farm, the home and, often, the breaking up of the family. Naturally, the agricultural folks of the Commonwealth were enraged. It seemed as if they had given their blood to strike off the chains of the Crown only to open themselves to a worse condition, virtual slavery to the "bloated bloodsuckers" of Boston capitalists. Since the courts were the machinery by which the debtors were "knifed," the farmers turned their hatred upon lawyers and judges and, as is always the case in popular uprisings, visited their emotion upon all members of the profession alike—the most upright and ethical attorney, the most profound and philosophical lawyer, was a "shyster" just like the venal small-fry who fattened upon exorbitant fees.

But, as the result of economic improvement, the legal profession slowly improved its status and, under the leadership of a group of men of sterling character, it gained widespread respect and acknowledgment, with the result that the Bench and Bar began to attract bright young men, such as Webster, and the Adams family who, looking for an opportunity for a career, recognized their chance in the law. More and more, as this came about, lawyers became influential until, by the time the period came to its end, the bench and bar became actually the dominating influence in American political life—replacing the original clerical domination of the first century, and the merchant-business leadership of the second.

This growth can be traced in the Courts. For many years the Supreme Judicial Court was the great trial court of the Commonwealth. It was held in rotation in each county and at least three of the five members were required to be in attendance. With this situation existing, there arose a curious condition of practice—each of the justices, whether three or four or five was expected to inform the jury upon points of law which arose. Often, it happened that the justices differed in their opinions and the courts witnessed the spectacle of the juries being confused with the expression from the bench of diverse opinions, often opinions which contradicted each other. Naturally, great emphasis was placed upon emotional appeals to the jury which, bewildered by the justices, could hardly trust facts of law.

Not only did this result in some uncertainty in respect to justice but the court found itself unable to keep pace with its docket and soon a great accumulation of unfinished cases appeared. To remedy the situation, the General Court increased the number of justices to seven so that two courts of three members each could sit at the same time in different parts of the Commonwealth (which then included the District of Maine). This helped somewhat but in 1804 a new method was adopted. This was the result of the work of Judge Dawes who resigned from the Supreme Court in 1802 to fill the two offices of Judge of Probate and Judge of the new criminal court of Suffolk County, called the Municipal Court. In this he sat alone on the bench before a jury. His success was so remarkable that the General Court finally yielded to pressure from the bar and allowed one justice of the Supreme Judicial Court to remain behind his fellows in each county, and try questions of fact remaining unheard. This system worked amazingly well.

Judge Dawes' resignation also helped the development of the Supreme Court in that he was followed in office by Theodore Sedgwick, who was not only a very able lawyer but also a man possessed of the

ability to persuade folks to act favorably upon his proposals. Aided by Harrison Gray Otis, popular leader of the bar and the General Court, Sedgwick was able to accomplish many reforms in the judicial system. Aside from technical points, he was conspicuously successful in elevating the ethics of the profession, which had fallen from the gentlemanly standards of the pre-Revolutionary days to a rough and tumble scramble in which almost "everything went and no holds barred."

Sedgwick's work was advanced by the appointment in 1806 of Theophilus Parsons. Not merely one of the greatest American lawyers, Parsons was an accomplished philosopher and mathematician. It is said he would read all night long in the black pages of a metaphysical dissertation upon Being or Epistemology with as much delight as an idle girl would devote to the "dripping pages of the latest English romance." His calibre is evidenced by the fact that he gave up an income of more than \$10,000 a year (he had the largest private practice in New England of the time) to accept the justice's stipend of \$1,250 a year. Such sacrifice is civic devotion.

Possibly Parsons believed he could do much to correct practices of both bench and bar. In any event, he set to work at once. He created a great flurry of excitement amongst members of the bar. Not only did he expedite cases in a most amazing fashion but he was alert and vigorous. He might have hung up a sign over his head reading "No nonsense" for he interrupted long winded attorneys, prohibited their presenting unnecessary evidence, curtailed their spread-eagled flights of oratory and insisted that they keep to the point. In short, he made his court into a school room for lawyers. Indeed, so great did the influence of Parsons become that some lawyers, particularly those outside of Boston, became reluctant to argue before him and submitted their cases with just a statement of the facts as they knew them. The law they left to Parsons, as they did the decision, unreservedly. Undoubtedly Parsons was himself in need of discipline—but the strong dose he administered to the bar was a castor oil purge which was badly needed. One of the greatest influences of Parsons was his work upon written reports which were first commonly practiced and published beginning in 1805. Before that judges did not habitually report in writing. Thanks to the learned opinions which Parsons thus published (they were his only writings, by the way) *Massachusetts Reports* immediately became of a high standard and commanded from the very beginning the widespread respect they have always enjoyed.

Side by side in importance with Parsons is Judge Joseph Story. Story will ever be better known for his writings than for his active

work in the courts. His law books are, of course, internationally famous; everyone who reads law at all knows of the great series written between 1832 and 1845. But Story also served otherwise. Probably one of his greatest accomplishments was the elevation of judges' salaries. In 1806, the salaries of justices of the Superior Court had been lifted from \$1,250 to \$2,400. To eke this out, it was the custom for them to petition the General Court each year for a grant, some \$500. This made the Court in a measure dependent upon the good will of the Legislature—an impossible position, of course. Led by Story, in 1809, a bitter battle, intensified by Federalist and anti-Federalist feeling, was conducted and won, lifting the salaries of the justices to \$3,000 and the Chief Justice to \$3,500. Thus the justices were freed from dependence upon the General Court.

Yet another important service of Story's was his efforts in the codification of Massachusetts law. Literally, a "fever for codification" swept America as a result of the Code Napoleon in France; everyone was convinced that by means of a code, law could be established for all time, fixed and eternal, in contrasts with the flexible and developing American common law system. In Massachusetts the agitation reached serious proportions in 1812; laymen demanded that the law of the Commonwealth be codified. Judge Story was at first a supporter of the movement and his anonymous articles in the *North American Review* formed the backbone of the crusade. However, the bar as a whole opposed codification—although there were other exceptions in addition to Story. In 1832, Governor Lincoln appointed Charles Jackson, George Ashman, John Pickering and Asahel Stearns to prepare the first revision of the State's statutes—not a code, just a revision. In 1835 the revision was reported and accepted with slight modification by the General Court. It was an excellent job—one of the basic works of the State's laws. This revision did not serve to halt the crusade for codification of the common law at all. In 1836 Governor Everett appointed a commission, headed by Story to consider the matter. They reported in favor of a partial codification. But, at the same time, two influences began to turn the tide. Story was writing his great text-books—themselves a sort of codification. In his absorption, he left the crusade. Then, Lemuel Shaw was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, partly because Webster said that Shaw would make codification unnecessary by reason of his remarkable ability to practice the principles of common law. Under Shaw's influence, it came to be recognized that the Massachusetts' common law was, as it stood, well adapted to meeting the rapid development of the State and that any straightening of its flexibility would result in the law lagging

behind the political and economic advance. Thus codification gradually died away in Massachusetts—largely because it was unnecessary.

Probably another influence upon the development of the Commonwealth's law and order at this time was the growth of the Harvard Law School. Law schools were not important at all before 1850. Law students simply served an apprenticeship in a practicing lawyer's office. In Massachusetts, law schools began when Harvard in 1817 founded a law school by hiring Chief Justice Isaac Parker to teach law on a part time basis. A little later, Asahel Stearns, the first district attorney of Suffolk, was also hired. Still, despite the worth of these two men, the Harvard school was unimportant—just an experiment. Then, in 1829, Nathan Dane generously built Dane Hall as the building for the Law School and provided funds with which to engage Judge Story, then of the United States Supreme Court. Story's position and scholarship boosted the reputation of the school, and can be considered to initiate education in law in the United States. Of course, law schools as we know them today did not begin until Boston University started its school in 1871 and when Harvard turned its moribund school over to Christopher Columbus Langdell when Eliot came into power.

Of all the men whose personality and ability so advanced the progress of law and order in Massachusetts none are above Daniel Webster. Even John Adams, the first great lawyer, does not rank above Webster. His career is considered in a subsequent section of this work.

Among the other men, mention must be made of Peter Oxenbridge Thacher of the Suffolk Municipal Court. His *Criminal Cases* is, of course, one of the standard law texts but his greater work was the creation of the Massachusetts probation system. Actually, Massachusetts did not enact this system into law until the 1870's but Thacher exercised the probation system in the 1830's. His work was an extension of the common law principle of excusing unfortunates from serving penal sentences as long as they behaved themselves—the old "binding to good behavior." The Massachusetts probation statute merely legalized and organized the practices Thacher initiated.

Peleg W. Chandler was another leading figure. Like Webster, he was a New Hampshire man who came to the city and made good. A great jury lawyer, he served best as counsel for the City of Boston and was the power behind the throne in City Hall for years.

Even greater than these was Rufus Choate. A really great lawyer, one of the giants of former days, he served his Commonwealth best, as did many other lawyers, in the Constitutional Convention of 1853. The particular service was his argument against the election of judges, a business pushed into the convention in response to popular demand.

Together with Richard H. Dana, Choate fought the provision bitterly and his speech on the subject is the classic argument for the retention on the bench during good behavior of men "mentally and morally able to resist both the temptations of expediency and the ablest advocates who plead cases before them."

Benjamin R. Curtis is yet another great man. The first justice of the Supreme Court of the United States to practice law privately after resigning from that august position, he was not only a strong personality but an able jurist. He is famous for his dissenting opinion in the Dred Scott case and for his blocking of the impeachment of President Johnson, allegedly illegal. In the Commonwealth, one of his accomplishments was the chairmanship of the committee which drafted the Massachusetts Practice Act of 1851—the act which cut away masses of barnacled precedents and is, in large part, the basis today of practice in the State's courts.

Of another type, the still controversial figure of Benjamin F. Butler emerges. Anyone can even today start trouble in comments on Ben Butler. Aside from his political and personal activities, this robust character exercised considerable influence upon law and order, influences which are active today. He did much that was constructive, for Butler was a very able man. It is believed, for example, he was chiefly responsible for the actual coming into being of the present Superior Court in 1869 when the Legislative Committee which he controlled, brought in the plan to abolish the Superior Court of Suffolk County, the abolition of the State wide Court of Common Pleas and to substitute for them the present Superior Court. On the negative side, in some opinions, he is said to have been responsible for the muzzle worn by our State judges, the muzzle tied about them by Butler's statute, "The judges shall not charge juries with respect to matters of fact, but they may state the testimony and the law." Thus our judges may not discuss the facts, the witnesses or the evidence—they may only state the law.

Out of the bright galaxy of legal stars which characterized the latter half of this period it is impossible to discuss many more. A few may be listed—John Quincy Adams, president of the United States; William H. Prescott, the historian; Richard H. Dana, the author; James Sullivan, the Governor, William Sullivan, his son; Samuel Dexter, secretary of the United States Treasury; Benjamin F. Hallett, George S. Hillard, George Bliss, Sydney Bartlett; Theron Metcalf, the reporter, Chief Justice Bigelow, Charles Allen, first chief justice of the Superior Court, and, possibly the greatest Roman of the age, Jeremiah Mason.

CHAPTER XLVIII

The Town Meeting

In the Commonwealth today, there are three forms of local government—the city form, which is confined to the larger municipal corporations;—the limited town meeting form, which is practiced in some of the larger corporations still bearing the name of town;—and the old fashioned town meeting, the original form, which is still followed in all the smaller towns and in many others large enough to enjoy either the limited form or even a city charter.

It has been said that the New England town meeting is the purest and most satisfactory form of self-government, the most democratic approach to the ideal of free people governing themselves, that the world has seen. Probably this statement is too sweeping, but the fact remains that the old town meeting form is certainly democratic. Anyone who is a citizen of the town is entitled to have his hour in the meeting and, when a body of men get together, with no limit save decency upon what they may say or do, it is certain that every dollar of tax money voted will be carefully weighed against the benefits anticipated. Perhaps, even more, the town meeting form prohibits graft and corruption in even the smallest degree. In large cities, where the council and the mayor meet alone together, and where heads of departments spend and are responsible only to the mayor, public control is remote and, save for what news the papers dare to print, having always the spectre of libel suits and the fear of lost advertising hanging over the editors' desks, public opinion is kept in a sad condition of ignorance. Graft may flourish in the city form of government as in a hot bed; be it commissions on contracts or percentages exacted for appointments to city jobs.

But in the small town this is impossible. Everyone knows what everyone else is doing—the slightest hint of irregularity is fuel for a fire of gossip, gossip which, of a certainty, will be a furnace when town meeting comes around. Small town folks know even the secret thoughts of those of their fellows selected to run their town and every citizen eternally keeps his finger on the conduct of business, holding officers

to permanent and precise accounting for their responsibility. Small towns are well governed; they must be by their very institution of self-government.

But, as soon as the town increases in size, this salutary condition fades in direct proportion to the population. Town meetings are no longer attended by everyone—nor does every citizen know what is going on. Civic personal responsibility fades; citizens lose interest—the slogan seems to be “Let George do it.” And as more and more folks lose interest, so does the quality of government decline. In a town of ten thousand, perhaps a hundred citizens actively attend town meeting and run the business. In fact, it could hardly be otherwise, for in most middle-sized and larger towns, the town hall meeting place could not possibly contain more than a small percentage of the citizens. Thus abuses creep in and, as more and more, the control of the town’s business drops into the hands of a few, so does misgovernment flourish. Factions develop, of course, within the handful of active citizens—but they usually keep peace within their number by bargaining and, only when some hot-headed citizen feels that his taxes are too high, or his street is not properly kept up, does the pot boil over.

To meet the situation thus developed—it had its beginnings early in the nineteenth century, when mills and shops began the concentration of population—the city form and the limited town meetings were developed.

But the original town meeting was old before the War of 1812, which forms a convenient point of fixing the time of change from agricultural and maritime Massachusetts to the present industrial State.

Few government forms have been the subject of so much study and controversy in the past century as the New England Town Meeting. Writers upon the subject hold many diverse and contradictory theories as to the origin of the meeting. Three of these theories, however, seem to be most generally supported. One, based probably upon the unquestioned theocratic organization of the Bay Colony, holds that the town idea is, in substance, a reproduction of the English parish, and maintains that the peculiar procedure of the meeting is a development of the old vestry meetings of the English parish church.

A second theory, which recognizes the immediate inheritance from the Mother Country, traces the idea back to German and, indeed to remote Aryan sources, holding that the particular forms and procedures are not native either to America or to England, but are the natural forms and procedures which are created spontaneously in all countries whenever men group themselves into small communities and enjoy a measure of liberty sufficient to make possible the practice of local self-

government. It should be added that this theory is no longer well supported.

The third theory is more patriotic and reasonable. While recognizing that the colonists were English and thus necessarily thought along native forms and styles, it holds that, nevertheless, the town meeting was a native product of New England, arising out of the needs and the environment of the wild new country and conditioned by the necessity of union and common action as well as limited by the several royal charters, patents and fiats under which colonization began and was conducted. Of course, the framework of the town and its meeting was English—but it seems certain that it was also, even from the beginning, American. If not, how could it change and develop as it has done, how else could it have so successfully met the peculiar needs of the New World and, why else did it, first embracing practically all authority, gradually relinquish by its own consent, power after power, until today, the United States exercises some of its powers, the State many more, the county still others—leaving to the town only those immediate details of self-government which, in most cases, do not reach beyond its geographical limits, excepting when problems involving other towns arise.

Probably, as far as legal action goes, towns existed in fact before being designated as such. For example, Plymouth, settled in 1620, was not known as a town officially until 1633, when the first town records were so titled. Boston, however, called itself a town from its earliest days—as shown in the Act of the Court of Assistants, March 22, 1630 which reads, "Every town within this patent shall, before the fifth of April next, take especial care that every person within their town (except ministers and magistrates) as well as servants, shall be furnished with good and sufficient arms."

Thus in existence, eventually the General Court recognized the fact by actual acts of incorporation. This statement is made and needs emphasis because it is commonly understood that towns were never legally incorporated; they were! Judge C. J. Gray, in an opinion concerned with the legal aspects of towns has written of their beginnings, ". . . At the first settlement of the Colony, towns consisted of clusters of inhabitants dwelling near each other, which, by the effect of legislative act, designating them by name and conferring upon them the powers of managing their own prudential affairs, electing representatives and town officers, making by-laws, and disposing, subject to the paramount control of the Legislature, of unoccupied lands within their territories, became in effect, municipal or quasi corporations, without any formal act of incorporation. . . ." From this beginning, the

situation soon developed to the point at which the towns were actual corporations, as shown in the comment of Governor Hutchinson in 1773. He wrote: "By a law made soon after our own charter and unfortunately allowed by the Crown, every town is a distinct corporation, and although their powers are limited to matters of public concernment to the town yet when the inhabitants are once assembled they take upon themselves all matters of government. . . ." The law to which Governor Hutchinson refers, is, according to F. W. Grinnell, formerly secretary of the Massachusetts Bar Association, 1 *Province Laws* 182, 1694; it makes the towns corporations in law as well as in fact. However, when the state came into being after the Revolution, further action was deemed necessary, as shown by Chapter 75, section 8, of the Statutes of 1785; the section declaring " . . . the inhabitants of every town within this government are hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate. . . ."

From this colonial and provincial beginning, the towns flourished, operating from 1620 to 1630 on up to 1776 without any great change, other than increasing in size and, time and time again, splitting themselves into new towns—although, in a few cases, some of the original towns also united to form single corporations. The first towns had many officers which have either changed their duties almost out of recognition, or have else been dismissed altogether. For example, what town now has the once very important hog reeve, fence viewer, tithing man or field driver—not to mention pound keeper? And what old town ever thought they would someday elect welfare boards, park commissioners, a water department and a sewer commission?

But all this was far in the future; by the time the Revolution arrived, no one in Massachusetts had the least idea that towns would ever change. In fact, the town and its town meeting was considered to be the perfect form of government and all through the stormy days of war and reconstruction, the town alone remained the single form of stable government. The Revolution, in a gesture, destroyed the Royal Power; the King and his Governor, and the Province, as well as the executive force of the Royal Army and Navy simply were erased. Provincial Courts and Provincial Legislatures likewise went out of existence. Only the momentum of law and order characteristic of English common men and women remained, only that habit of decency and its expression through the town meeting was left. It is true that there was a Provincial Congress—but it was a war Congress and such acts that did not pertain to the prosecution of the war were few and feeble. Really, their sad senility is exemplified by the fact that the first Act of the General Court, when it came into being again in 1775 was

to declare that all the actions of the Provincial Congresses preceding July 20, 1775, should be recognized by all the towns of the Commonwealth, "as lawful and of as much force as if they had been passed or sanctioned by any assembly or general court."

And the formulation of a Constitution for the new Commonwealth further illustrates the power of the town meetings in those war years. In May, 1777, the Massachusetts Assembly made itself into what amounted to a constitutional convention and caused a Constitution to be framed and offered to the people. The people, voting as towns, promptly and firmly rejected the proposed Constitution, because it not only lacked a bill of rights stating and protecting the rights of the individual as against the State, but also because it would have sheared away more of the powers of the towns than the towns thought either necessary or advisable.

The next Constitution, that of 1780, was framed to meet these objections and it was accepted, after controversy, by a convention of delegates elected for the purpose by the towns. Of course, the jealousy of the towns for their powers was not specifically mentioned as such but the Sixth Article is significant: "All the laws which have been heretofore adopted, used and approved in the colony, province or state of Massachusetts Bay and usually practiced on in the courts of law, shall remain and be in full force until altered or repealed by the Legislature, such parts only excepted as are repugnant to the rights and liberties contained in this constitution." What more could the defenders of the institution of the town meeting ask?

However, as soon as peace was once again a fact, the citizens of the new nation and the new state began to consider their local affairs again—and in some instances found that even of such a good thing as the town, it was possible to have too much. Boston was the first to question the town form of government; the metropolis was too big, some of its residents thought, for the town meeting adequately to consider all the details of business. If all qualified voters of the town of Boston suddenly decided to attend town meeting, the assembly would prove unmanageable—or so the proponents of change declared. Accordingly, in May, 1784, a Committee was appointed by the Boston Town Meeting to ". . . consider the expediency of applying to the General Court for an act to form the Town of Boston into an incorporated city and to report a plan of alterations in the present government of the police, if such shall be deemed eligible."

This was the first break in the town system, but it was not to come to action for several years and before several other committees had considered and reported. The first committee reported two schemes

for a city government, two schemes rejected without debate by the Boston Town Meeting. The following year, another committee considered "the defects of the present constitution of the Town" and reported that they did not find any defects.

For six years nothing happened to the town form but, in December 1791, a new Boston committee was appointed and duly reported a plan which divided the Town of Boston into nine wards, each one of which would elect two men, residing in the respective wards, and they, together with the same old board of Selectmen, would constitute a Town Council and run the Town's detailed business. The Town Meeting rejected this plan by a majority of two hundred.

Several years later, the Town Meeting turned down another committee's plan by an even larger majority. This 1804 plan suggested a Town Council of Selectmen and two members from each ward and proposed that this Council elect all town officers, excepting the town clerk, school committee, tax assessors and a few other important and, therefore, political offices.

And still another committee was to meet, consider and propose and see their efforts be denied by the town meeting, although this last committee, that of 1815, made a most determined effort and lost by but 31 votes, 920 in favor, 951 opposed. Their plan was embodied in a "Bill for the government of the Town and City of Boston." It provided that, ". . . the selectmen of the Town annually chosen according to law, together with twenty four delegates and one Intendant, to be chosen as hereafter directed, shall be a body corporate and politic with power in behalf of the inhabitants of the Town of Boston to sue and be sued, to plead and be impleaded, to make use of a common seal, and the same to alter or change at pleasure, and shall be known by the title and style of the Intendant and Municipality of the Town and City of Boston. . . . The municipality shall annually choose all officers now chosen by the town, the selectmen, overseers of the poor, school committee, town clerk, fire wards, boards of health, assessors and assistant assessors. . . ."

Significantly, and evidently for the first time, the question of the ability of the Town of Boston to change itself into a city was raised—and disposed of, at least to the satisfaction of the Committee. The Committee's report continues on this point, "The result of the opinion of your committee not to supersede any of the existing Boards has been strengthened by the consideration that a Board of Selectmen is rendered necessary by the letter of the Constitution in every town in this Commonwealth. Indeed the very name of town, associated with certain municipal proceedings, is also rendered necessary by the terms

of that instrument. So that the continuance of that board with its present name and with many of its present powers, is unavoidable."

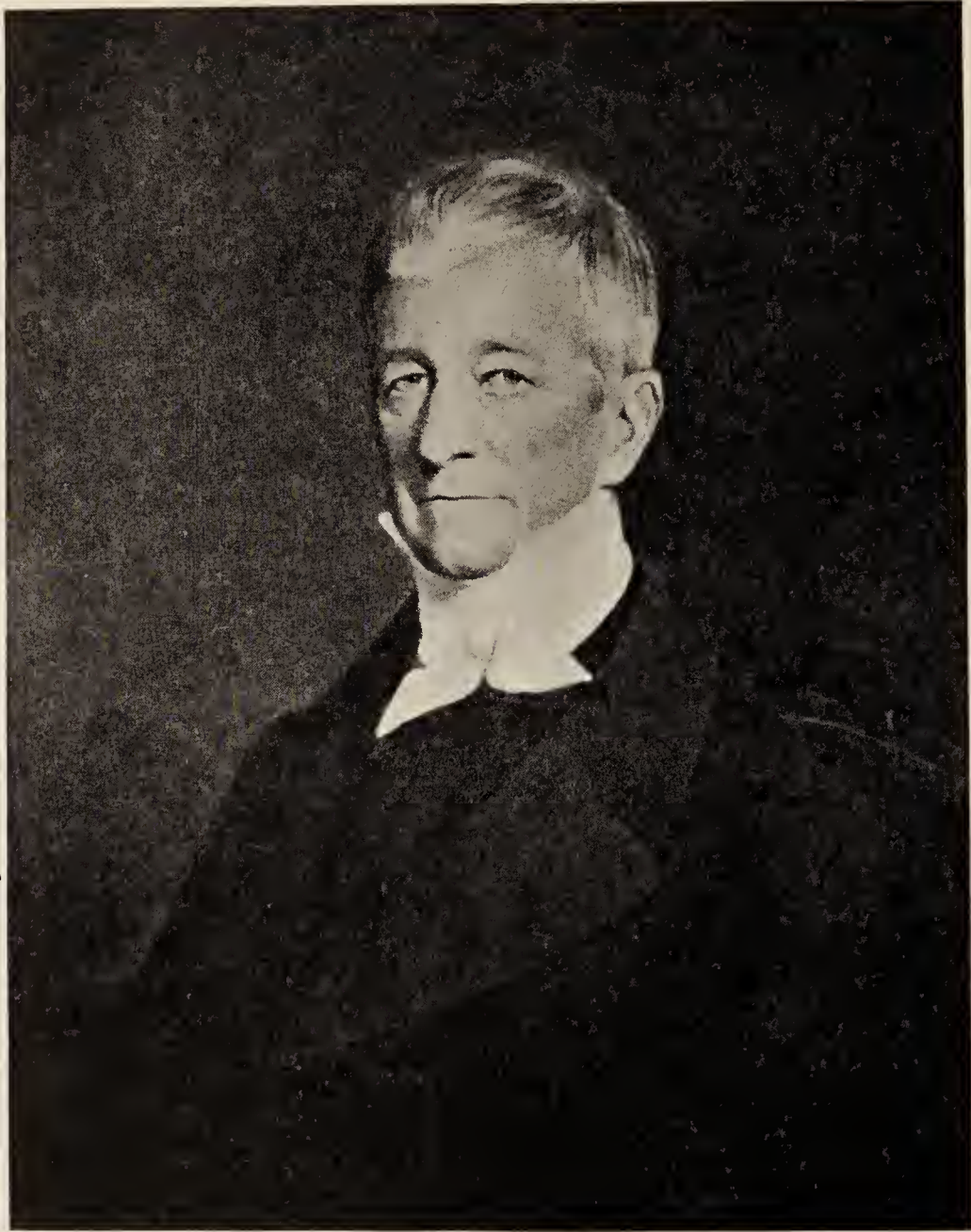
There seem to have been at least three reasons why nearly half of the membership of the Boston Town meeting thought a change to a City form of government was necessary. Two of them are stated by Quincy in his *Municipal History of Boston*. First, it was evident that it was unwise to conduct town affairs with only seven thousand qualified voters in a town population of some forty thousand, particularly when passions were awakened. Says Quincy, "When a town meeting was held on any exciting subject in Faneuil Hall, those only who obtained places near the moderator could even hear the discussion. A few busy or interested individuals easily obtained the management of the most important affairs in an assembly where the greater number could have neither voice or hearing."

Second, even these few "civic-minded" citizens came only when they were personally interested. Says Quincy, "When the subject was not generally exciting, town meetings were usually composed of the selectmen, the town officers and thirty or forty inhabitants. Those who thus came, were, for the most part, drawn to it from some official duty or private interest, which when performed or attained, they generally troubled themselves but little or not at all, about the other business of the meeting. In assemblies thus composed, by-laws were passed, taxes to the number of one hundred or one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, voted, on statements often general in their nature, and on reports, as respected the majority of voters present, taken upon trust and which no one had carefully considered, except perhaps the chairman."

The third point is developed by C. W. Ernst's *Constitutional History of Boston*. He says that the people of Boston were "convinced that the commingling of town business with the administration of justice was a mistake, the consequences of which were as unfortunate as they were notorious. . . . The proposals of 1784, 1792, 1804 and 1815, while favoring the adopting of a city charter, had failed to ask for reform where it was most urgently needed."

Why, despite all these points, the handful of Boston Town Meeting members who considered and rejected the 1815 proposal acted as they did, is explained by Quincy. "The events of the American Revolution strengthened the attachments of a great majority of the inhabitants of Boston to the form of town government. In town meetings their measures of opposition to the pretensions of Great Britain had been originated, been agitated and adopted, and the affection of the inhabitants to the forms, under which their efforts had been crowned with

success, was increased. The name and character of 'town' became identified with the idea of popular power and civil liberty. This sentiment, united with the natural reluctance with which every people part with authority they have long and successfully exercised, rendered all



CHARLES JACKSON, JUSTICE OF MASSACHUSETTS SUPREME COURT

attempts at change, not so much unpopular, as hateful, to a majority of the inhabitants."

But despite the sentiment of the majority, the need for a change was so considerable that it was not long to be denied. The Constitutional Convention came in 1820 and, as a result of modifications therein accomplished, Boston was made a city, receiving the form in 1822. It was the first Massachusetts City—but once the town meeting line was

broken, the way was made comparatively simple for other large towns to change from direct action by the people to indirect action, that is, by means of deputies—which, after all, is the essential difference between the American Town and City.

It is perhaps significant that Massachusetts was not the first of the colonies to change from town to city forms; in fact, at least two other New England states had taken the step previously. In Rhode Island, Newport became a city in 1784—although it reverted to the town form again in 1787 and stayed a town until 1863. In Connecticut, as early as 1784, there were five cities—New Haven, New London, Hartford, Norwich and Middletown—the only cities in that State until 1836. Incidentally, neither Rhode Island nor Connecticut has city making provisions in its constitution; the power is considered tacitly expressed. And it is well, also, to point out that the American city form, as developed in New England is very different from the European form. For example, in England, many great “cities” were still towns until very recently. Birmingham, with half a million souls, was a town until 1889 and sprawling Liverpool was not a city until 1880. In fact, it is only recently that the King has given the title “city” to large towns “which were not episcopal sees.”

It was out of the constitutionalizing of the city charter form of government that the second form of the town meeting has developed, that of the limited or, as it is sometimes called, the representative town meeting. It is a very simple form, a slight change, but a very important one—it simply substitutes a limited number of persons with the power to vote for the unrestricted voting franchise. Anyone, who is a citizen, may still speak in town meeting—but only the handful who have been elected by the entire town as town meeting members have the power to vote. It meets, thus, the greatest objection to the town meeting, the utter inability of a town meeting moderator to control a large assembly of all the citizens.

In 1821, William Sullivan, chairman of the Boston Committee appointed to develop a plan for Boston's new form of government, wrote, in part, “Sometimes fifty or twenty, seldom more than two or three hundred, persons, accidentally collected, do all the business of a town that contains near seven thousand voters. Yet even this irregularity is better, than if any citizen did his duty in attending, for there is no building which could contain the assembly; deliberation in that event would be utterly impracticable, and the present form of Town government would be shown at once to be absolutely impossible.” The limited town meeting, by specifically selecting a handful of the citizens, making them representatives of the various districts of the town, and

making it their sworn duty to attend town meetings, at once removes the objection of numbers and continues the benefit of the town meeting idea—in part, for, sad to say, the town meeting members do not always take their duty seriously, even if, as in Winthrop, the fire alarm is sounded to call them into meeting, or often, for deputies to go out and round up enough members to give the meeting a quorum.

It would be idle to follow out all the developments in the town meeting changes during the century after 1820 to the first adoption of the specifically limited town meeting by Brookline in 1915. Only one development is of great interest; that took place in 1885 when the General Court acted “to provide for the inhabitants of the town more than one place of public meeting within the limits of each town for the election of officers under the constitution, and to prescribe the manner of calling, holding and conducting such meetings.” Formerly, everything was done at the central town meeting. This act of the General Court split the town meeting in half—it set out that half of the annual meeting which elected officers and thus made it possible for voters to cast their ballots near their homes without ever having to attend the meeting at all. If the items of other business were still neglected, the change did make it probable that a larger number of voters would actually take an interest in the choice of the officers of the town at least. To that degree, modernization of the rural system’s town meeting progressed.

Under the 1915 form of limited town meeting as adopted by Brookline, the Act being self-explanatory in its title “An Act to Provide for Precinct Voting, Limited Town Meetings, Town Meeting Members, a Referendum and an Annual Moderator in the Town of Brookline” (1915, Chapter 250) the citizens in precinct elections selected their representatives to the town meeting, thus completing the change from the single town meeting to election of town officers begun in 1885. Brookline’s action was both important and significant since the town is one of the largest and wealthiest corporations in the State. As of 1915, it was exceeded in contributions to the State Treasury by only three other municipalities, Boston, Worcester and Springfield.

Naturally, as might have been expected, the demonstration of the value of the limited town meeting in preserving the traditional liberties and yet providing an adequate form of government, met with desires from other towns for their own limited meetings. Rather than pass a series of specific acts based upon Brookline’s precedent for each town desiring to change, the General Court attempted to pass a blanket provision giving each town the right to change whenever the majority of its voters so expressed the wish.

The bill followed along the same general lines as the Brookline Act, dividing the town accepting it into voting precincts, and authorizing the registered male voters in each precinct to elect by proper ballot six percent of such voters in such precincts as town members. These members then composed the town meeting, together with any local members of the General Court, the moderator, the town clerk, the selectmen, the town treasurer, the town accountant, the town counsel, the town tax collector, the town auditor and so forth through practically the entire list of town officers and the chairman of all boards constituted by the town. All matters of town business such as election of officers, liquor licenses and so forth, were to go on the annual ballot to be voted upon by the registered citizens in the precincts. All other town business was to be acted upon by the limited town meetings with two exceptions: one, "If at any limited town meeting a vote was passed authorizing the expenditure of twenty five thousand dollars or more as a special appropriation, such vote shall not become operative until after the expiration of five days" and then, if within that period, not less than twenty voters from each precinct file a petition in protest, the entire voting body of the town shall be gathered in a special town meeting to reconsider the matter; two. "This Act shall not abridge the right of voters or citizens of a town to hold general meetings according to any right secured to them by law or by the Constitution of the Commonwealth; nor shall this Act confer upon any limited town meeting the power finally to commit the town to any measure affecting its municipal existence or making any change in the form of its government, without action thereon by the voters of the town at large."

The Act, if passed, was to take effect only when a majority of the voters at an annual town meeting accepted it upon petition of ten percent of the registered male voters of the town.

Immediately, the conservative citizens of the Commonwealth began to suspect an attack upon the rights and privileges of the ancient town meeting. Claiming that the Act would unduly deprive the towns of their liberties, they raised the now-perennial cry of "Unconstitutional."

Accordingly, the General Court, to scotch the ghost of unconstitutionality, asked the opinion of the Supreme Court, proposing, as is the fashion, two questions framing the disputed points. The two read, First, "Has the General Court the power, under the Constitution of the Commonwealth, to pass a general law enabling such towns as may adopt its provisions to substitute for the town meeting form of government, in which every qualified voter of the town may participate, a form wherein the town meeting shall consist of a certain percentage

of the voters elected as town meeting members, so-called, by the voters at large." Second, "Would House Bill No. 1441, above mentioned, as passed to be engrossed by the House, be constitutional if enacted?"

The Court replied, in part, "The Second Amendment to the Constitution provides the only method by which the General Court can erect the representative in place of the direct form of municipal government." This reads, "No such government shall be erected or constituted in any town not containing twelve thousand inhabitants, nor unless it be with the consent, and on the application of a majority of the inhabitants of such town, present and voting thereon, pursuant to a vote at a meeting duly warned and holden for that purpose." The opinion of the Supreme Court continues, "It is plain that the proposed bill is not framed in accordance with that amendment. Its provisions are not limited to towns of twelve thousand inhabitants, as thereby required, but are quite unhampered in that particular. The smallest town may adopt it. Moreover, the establishment of a city or other municipal government, representative in its nature, cannot be made by general law, but only by special act, passed on the application of the town pursuant to a majority vote of its inhabitants voting thereon. The reason for this is that under the second amendment the first step must be taken in each instance by the town and not by the General Court." Thus, as indicated, the Supreme Court replied "No" to the General Court's two questions.

However, although this negative opinion killed the bill for the time being, it was recognized that the matter was not ended. The limited town meeting was the answer to the defects of the old-fashioned town meeting and under the Second Amendment, town after town continued to petition for the change and to receive it from the General Court. Meanwhile, the movement continued for the creation of a blanket bill to make the adoption easier. The first objection of the Court, that of leaving the adoption open to all towns, was easily met, for the smaller towns had no wish or desire to make the change; with their handful of citizens they could easily gather together as of old and adequately conduct their business in the old-fashioned manner without trouble—as they always have and as they do today. And it was recognized that the second objection of the court, that the change ought not to be adopted by a majority in a single town meeting, was also valid. In fact, in the well known case of *Larcom v. Olin*, 160 Mass. 108, the Court concerned definitely stated, "The practical construction put upon the proviso has been that the town must first make an application to the General Court by a vote of its inhabitants, and, if an act of incorporation is passed pursuant to the application to the General Court by

a vote of its inhabitants, that the act must be submitted for acceptance to the inhabitants. Whether two meetings and two votes are necessary or not, certainly there must be an application and a consent manifested by a vote pursuant to the provision."

Still, the ghost of unconstitutionality lingered and, despite the general wish for the widening of the opportunity of making the town meetings more adapted to grappling with the ever increasing complexity of details of town business, it was not until 1931 that the General Court finally passed the bill which now enables any town, which meets the specific requirements of the Act to change over from the heavy, cumbersome and impracticable 300-year-old form to the modern form.

Accomplished now, the Massachusetts town meeting form of government, changed though it may be, still remains, fundamentally, the most flexible and comprehensive form of local self-government the world has known. Jefferson said, of the New England town meeting, "The wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government, and for its preservation." Of course, our State's town meetings have their weaknesses and limitations, not only of membership, but of quality and efficiency. It can be abused—particularly when selfish interests have enough at stake to warrant the expense of a campaign of persuasion—and, undoubtedly the representatives to the town meeting are not as cautious with tax money as a general meeting might be. However, err as it may, it possesses the immortal quality of being elastic and adaptable and mistakes of one meeting can be corrected in the next. And, finally and above all, it is certain that no satisfactory substitute for the town meeting, limited or old-fashioned as the needs of the particular town dictate, has ever been invented. City government, as practiced in Massachusetts and elsewhere in America, certainly does not equal the town meeting.

CHAPTER XLIX

The Adams Family

Massachusetts has many distinctions. It has few prouder than that of being the native state of the Adams family. In this country, despite its more than one hundred millions of souls, there are comparatively few families which have endured and have distinguished themselves for more than two generations. The Adams family is now in its tenth generation. In each generation, beginning with the first great figure, John Adams, rising out of the obscurity of four generations of Massachusetts farmers, there has been at least one individual who, combining character and intelligence, has carried on the line of America's most distinguished public servants. Many historians consider it the remarkable accomplishment of the family that they have provided the only father and son for the Presidency; it seems, however, more remarkable that the family, generation after generation, has consistently continued to produce great men. American democracy has distinguished itself by extinguishing families; after a generation or two of accomplishment, the line becomes watered. The Adams family, practically alone, certainly alone in political service, has been the exception. For five generations, since the second president of the United States, the Adams family has given America leaders of politics and leaders of literary and financial genius. No other family, no other State, has such a record.

Henry Adams is the first of the name to be known to biographers of the family. In the year 1609, Henry Adams, a farmer of the town of Charlton Mackrell, Somersetshire, married one Edith, daughter of Henry Squire of the adjacent village of Barton St. David. Nine children, eight sons and a daughter, were reared. Henry Adams became dissatisfied with his life in Old England and appeared in the colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England in 1636.

He established himself and his family on a grant of land in the section known as Braintree and then as Mt. Wollaston. By 1646, he died, leaving behind him an estate appraised at seventy five pounds. Henry Adams had not become wealthy, but he had accomplished much.

He had transplanted his family over three thousand miles of ocean to a new world and established them securely in a place where they at least had the opportunity of exercising their talents.

Of the nine children, the youngest son, Joseph, probably born about 1626, is the one who continued the important line of the family. In 1650, he married Abigail Baxter, and lived until 1694. He again was not a distinguished man. Father of twelve children, selectman of Braintree, he increased his wealth by establishing a brewery as an extension of his farm.

Of his twelve children, his second son, another Joseph, is the important one. The third son, John, however, was the grandfather of the Samuel Adams, who was Boston's most energetic patriot in Revolutionary times. Joseph, second, married three times and was the father of eleven children. Joseph, still not a distinguished man, did continue to advance the family fortunes. He left an estate appraised at 350 pounds, but, more important, lifted the family socially, marrying, as his second wife (1692) Hannah Bass, descendant of John and Priscilla Alden, and educating his eldest son to be a clergyman—which latter accomplishment was of the greatest immediate uplift, for in those early days a Mayflower lineage was not so important as now.

Of the eleven children, the second son, John, is again the important one. His farm was bisected by the main road of Braintree, which enabled John to add to his business as a farmer the part-time occupation of being a shoemaker. In addition, he was a selectman for many years and a lieutenant in the local militia company. Most important, however, was the fact that, in 1747, he was made a deacon. Of the utmost importance, however, was the fact that, in 1734, John married Susanna Boylston, daughter of Dr. Peter Boylston of Brookline. John's estate prospered; he left 1,330 pounds. He had three sons also, and one of them THE John Adams, born in 1735.

Here is the mystery of the Adams family. For four generations they had been, just like more than ninety percent of the Massachusetts folk of the time, farmers. A sober, "steady," industrious stock, undoubtedly superior but, in no sense of the word, distinguished. While the Adamses farmed in Braintree, flowering only to the heights of a clergyman, other families were rising to both fame and fortune. Boston, in the north, right in clear sight of the Adams' farm, was filled with men who were building up position for themselves. Even Braintree itself had its prominent citizens who did their share in the stirring days of the Colony. And then with the addition of the Boylston blood, possibly because of it, but certainly with it, the Adams

family leaped into national importance—and has never been obscure since. Farmer John's marriage with Susanna Boylston may not have been the reason for the family's development. But it was the pivotal point.

JOHN ADAMS

Being the eldest son, John went to Harvard at the age of sixteen. It is interesting to note that he was rated fourteenth in his class of twenty four. This was a social rating, not an intellectual one, for the lad graduated among the first three of his class and was immediately offered a job teaching Latin in a grammar school at Worcester, whence he rode on horseback.

John had been educated for the ministry; his job of school-teaching was to be a mere interlude until he grew a little older and could obtain a pulpit. But the magic of heredity was working in John's mind and his struggles with his scholars aided him in coming to the decision that he would not be a clergyman. Even a generation earlier, his revolt against tradition would have doubtless ruined his entire life. But, his revolt came precisely at the time when all Puritanism was in a ferment under the gathering clouds of unrest which were to culminate in the Revolution. The ministry was still weighty and important—but it was no longer the only stepping stone to power for an ambitious young man.

Instead, there was the profession of the law. Business had increased sufficiently in size and importance to make its handmaid, law, respectable as well as necessary, and to many young men of ambition, the legal profession seemed like a spring of fresh water in the salt desert of theology. Before 1750, the law was not a decent profession at all; lawyers were discriminated against socially as well as legally—as in Rhode Island, where they were forbidden to enter the Legislature. Thus, John Adams in determining to become a lawyer sacrificed what little social position his mother's family had given him, but the rapid rise to respectability of his profession after 1750 soon put the Adams' family back into Boston society—where they lingered for a while.

Thus John Adams was not only fortunate in entering the law at the time when it was becoming decent but he was even more fortunate in entering it at a time when it was uncrowded. Lawyers were few and far between in Boston. Adams, with his mental endowments, would doubtless make a name for himself in modern Boston, with more lawyers in the telephone book than representatives of most of the other professions combined, but when he became a Boston lawyer,

he was one of perhaps half a dozen attorneys. And then, when within a few years Boston changed from a sea-port town of perhaps 15,000 souls to the center of the world's attention, again Adams was fortunate in both time and place.

For some years, however, Lawyer John was forced to combine his lawing with farming. He had acquired the old Braintree family farm from his brothers, purchasing their interest for some four hundred pounds. There he lived an idyllic life, farming a little, practicing law a little, tripping to Boston much and reading a very great deal. He was a happy man, then!

This youthful period ended in 1764 when he married Abigail Smith, daughter of Rev. William Smith of Weymouth and member of a prosperous and influential clan, whose members included the Quincys and the Nortons—cultured, wealthy, important folk who immediately boosted the practice and the income of their new member.

If John's mother added valuable new blood to the Adams family, his wife brought an even better heredity for posterity. She, in fact, wife of one President, and mother of another, thus the most distinguished of American women, was in herself a most remarkable person. Her character was such that her husband, no matter who he might have been, could not have failed to have been bettered. She was the ideal wife. Never schooled, her letters today are yet an important expression of that vanished art, and her general knowledge was wide, and deep, yet, withal, she was a woman. She managed her house with all the wisdom she displayed in managing her children; while Adams was five years absent, she ran the farm successfully and yet, fresh from the soil, she joined her husband, when he became Minister to the Court of St. James's and later became First Lady of the United States with a grace equalled only by her competence—a wife such as not all Presidents have been blessed with.

Adams' first official entry into what was to become the struggle for independence came in 1765 when he, together with James Otis and Gridley, was appointed a counsel to argue for the Colony before Governor Hutchinson against the Stamp Act. This business caused Adams to arrive, by logical thinking in direct contrast to the emotional processes of his cousin, Sam Adams, at the conclusion that the only salvation of the Colonies was eventual independence and, although it again meant that Adams would be unpopular in some circles, he stuck to his guns, just as it once more was fortunate for him that he cast his lot with the party fated to success.

In 1768, Adams purchased a "town house" in Boston, in what is now Brattle Square. His business as a lawyer flourishing, Adams

pleasantly refused a bribe from the Royalists, an appointment to the lucrative sinecure of Advocate in the Admiralty Court, and left Boston to attend the circuit courts at Worcester and Springfield. When he returned home, he found Boston filled with British soldiers. Calmly, logically, he wrote in his diary (he was the first Adams to write and the family has never stopped writing since) that an armed clash between the Colonists and the Crown had become inevitable.

Although not an active propagandist like Sam Adams, John Adams was nevertheless drawn by his very law practice into the inmost Revolutionary circles. One of his clients was none other than the richest man in town, John Hancock, and Adams was forced to identify himself with the patriots by fighting Hancock's case when his ship, the *Liberty*, was seized on grounds of alleged tax evasion and the well known mob demonstration ensued.

However, that in this Adams acted as an attorney and not as a person, is clearly demonstrated by his subsequent brave action in defending the British soldiers who were concerned in the Boston Massacre of March 5, 1770. At first, this "disloyalty" to the patriots threatened to diminish Adams' popularity and influence but, before long, the patriots recognized that Adams had acted the part of a "good citizen" and he not only regained what ground he had lost but added to his stature—the citizens of Boston elected him to the General Court even before the case had been completed.

Disliking Boston life, within the year Adams moved back to Braintree and, for years thereafter, alternated between the City and the Town. During this period he failed to take any active part in patriot business, but he did remain in sympathy with what went forward and continued to "pull strings behind the scenes." Some biographers have seen fit to accuse the man of timidity because he feared for his own neck in event the patriots' cause failed but, just as in later experiences he demonstrated a total disregard for his person in the interests of the revolted colonies, so it is probable that Adams' slowness in coming into open support of the patriots at this time may be charged to the legal caution and the personal conservatism of the man rather than to any lack of courage. Certainly, when Adams was faced with the necessity of choosing once and for all between the Crown and the Colony, he came out for his own; the occasion being his appointment with several others to represent the General Court in the meeting in Philadelphia of the Continental Congress in 1774.

This appointment changed Adams from a country farmer and small town lawyer to a statesman placed on a national stage and concerned with international issues—with the hangman's rope a shadow over his head.

That he played his part well, that the Adams genius was competent to rise to the occasion, is shown by the fact that on his return home he was sent to the General Court by Braintree and then returned with John Hancock to the Second Continental Congress. There Adams became a leader of the faction which was opposed to any further conciliatory negotiations with the Crown and insisted that independence was the Colonies' only salvation. While not always fortunate in his actions, Adams demonstrated an amazing capacity for transacting business and displayed a degree of intelligence which lifted him out of obscurity to a place as one of the body's leaders. One thing alone will serve to demonstrate Adams' rise to importance. The great problem of the Congress after Gage had been besieged in Boston by a revolted Massachusetts was—who shall be appointed to command the American forces? Adams saw clearly that if Massachusetts was to be saved, it was necessary to enlist the aid of the other colonies immediately. The appointment of a military commanding officer would accomplish this if a man could be elected by the Congress who would bring the southern colonies into the war. Adams knew there was just one man who, acceptable to the North, would bring with him the South. Accordingly he surprised the Congress by nominating George Washington of Virginia. Probably few other actions of the Congress was so effective in obtaining American independence. Adams never liked Washington (he bickered with him sadly later) but he sunk personal feeling in obtaining for Massachusetts the all important aid of the South. Washington led the Colonies to military victory; Adams made it possible for Washington to have the opportunity.

This master stroke made Adams an even more important figure and he was chairman of not less than twenty five Congressional Committees. One of the most important of these was that which had to do with the establishment of the American Navy. This was a project dear to the very heart of Adams and he worked so mightily towards floating fighting ships that he is today regarded as the founder in fact of the United States Navy. Yet another vital committee was the Board of War and Ordnance, which created everything from nothing. And still another committee was that concerned with relations with foreign governments. This involved not merely establishing a foreign policy but also creating a diplomatic corps. In fact, during his four years in Congress no man did more towards not only creating and supporting American independence but formulating the nation which was to be created.

He went home to Boston and Hingham in the late autumn of 1777, hoping to return to his farm and to his law practice, but within

three weeks letters came from Congress appointing him minister to France. Adams had no desire to go abroad but, urged by his wife, he consented and set sail in February 1778, with a dispatch bag full of letters and lead so that, in event of capture, his documents could be saved from the British—whatever happened to his neck. With him, he took his ten year old son, John Quincy, president-to-be.

In France, amid the quarrels which stultified the three American representatives, Adams acted as he thought best and, in fact, consented to his own recall when he wrote to Congress that one representative



BIRTHPLACE OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, QUINCY

in France would be better than three. Lee was appointed to Spain and, with Franklin firmly in the saddle in France, Adams confidently expected to be called home,—as he was, arriving in Boston in August 1779.

But, three months later, he left for France again, clothed with full powers to negotiate a treaty of peace and another of commerce with England when the time came. America could not have selected a better treaty maker than Adams, a highly intelligent man who, antagonistic to the British, was yet so British himself in every thought and even in every mental process that he could checkmate every move the English could make as readily as if he was himself favored with the British plans.

While waiting for peace negotiations to open, Adams placed his

two sons, John Quincy and Charles, in a French school and settled down in Paris. Unfortunately, he could not remember that Franklin and not Adams was minister to France and so he embroiled himself in unnecessary bitterness with both Franklin and Paris.

Finding Paris becoming hateful, Adams moved to Holland and there he learned that the French had all along been secretly endeavoring to do everything possible to prevent Britain and America's getting together around the peace table. France had in fact, with characteristic finesse, sought to have Adams recalled and the old familiar blundering business of committee appointed to take his place. France was afraid that Adams would be too successful in obtaining from England so many concessions that France, instead of ridding herself of a rival in the New World would merely find a new England set up in place of the old.

Following a maze of diplomatic business, very involved and lengthy, in which Adams had to return to America once to straighten things out, at last Adams succeeded in having the French ruled out of the picture and proceeded to open negotiation directly with England. Franklin, Jay and Adams, three of America's ablest sat down in amity with the two Englishmen, Oswald and Strachey, and discovered that England was far more ready to make peace than France had described the situation to be. Jay and Franklin were both able diplomats and unquestionably did much to bring out of the meeting an acceptable settlement. Adams, however, deserves the greatest of credit in stubbornly maintaining one controverted point which was of tremendous importance to New England, the right of Americans to fish on the teeming Grand Banks of Newfoundland. The French hoped to have this perennial sore point left unsettled as a means of keeping England and America embroiled and the British naturally wished to preserve the finny wealth to themselves. But Adams stood up in his boots and insisted so firmly, and withal so cleverly, that at last the British commissioners yielded. Conscious of having accomplished a splendid piece of work, the American commissioners sent the treaty home to Congress but, instead of praise, they received in return a bitter and unreasonable tirade for having ignored France in the business.

With the treaty done, Adams hoped to return home; he had for five years been separated from his wife. But, instead, he was appointed to negotiate the commercial treaty with England and then appointed minister to the Court of St. James's. All along he had opposed Mrs. Adams joining him, being fearful of the perils of a sea voyage. But when the ministerial appointment came, he could resist his wife's pleas no longer and wrote for her to come. She

was not eager to appear in London, she feared that she would be out of place, but she came and, as the first lady of the American ministry to Britain, conducted herself with a grace that soon softened the "contempt and scorn" with which British court circles were prepared to greet the "stiff-necked rebels."

Adams himself had a difficult and unhappy time, representing an America bogged down in the mire of the ineffectual Confederation. He did what he could to promote commercial relations and, resigning in 1788, sailed for home.

Plunged into the turmoil of the Constitution and then into the bitter business of a national election, Adams found himself not neglected indeed but forced to play second fiddle to Washington. Alexander Hamilton was not sympathetic to Adams and a bitter feud sprang up between them and thus Adams was made a vice-president unfortunately not only jealous of Washington but with Hamilton as his evil genius.

This antipathy with Washington embittered the eight years of Adams as vice-president and when Adams in turn was made President, it was only to have Hamilton's influence against him become more powerful. Adams was not a party man and he realized that, despite his tremendous services to the United States, he was president not because of any recognition of his ability or because of any gratitude for his past but because he was the only man who, at the hour, could have been elected in the open war between the Federalists of Hamilton and the Democrats of Jefferson. To the proudest of men, as Adams was, this was gall and wormwood and he was probably the most unhappy man who ever sat in the White House.

He made mistake after mistake. First of all, he retained Washington's cabinet. The members were all under the thumb of Hamilton and thus Adams found himself only a nominal President and saw Hamilton really the chief executive.

His second mistake was in not bending himself to explain his position in regard to France. The French Revolution had terrified the world, frightening the Federalist Party of which Adams was the nominal leader, almost as much as it did the British aristocracy. Hating France, Adams was naturally expected by his party to promote American hostility against the blood-spattered radicals of Paris. The Federalists proceeded to sink themselves forever by the hasty business of the Alien and Sedition Acts—and they were merrily proceeding to force America into war with the Directory when Adams suddenly abandoned them and flung himself into a determined peace policy.

Adams must have known that by so doing he was digging his

political grave. But he was firm in adhering to his belief that America should not war upon France and he won his battle. How important the crisis was to him is shown in his later declaration that he wanted engraved upon his grave no inscription but "Here lies John Adams, who took upon himself the responsibility of peace with France, in the year 1800."

If Adams was not the first president, he was the first chief executive to sit in the White House. Mrs. Adams' letters paint a vivid picture of their taking residence. He and she rode from Philadelphia to Washington and became lost in a forest and did not find their way again until a wandering slave pointed it out to them. Arrived in Washington, where the Capitol was still under construction, they beheld the White House, also unfinished, standing in the midst of a wilderness with the nearest neighbor a half mile away and not a tree, brush or flower to tie the raw building down to earth. But, Mrs. Adams was equal to the occasion. While the President struggled with politicians, she bargained with blacks for firewood and hung her washing up to dry in the empty East Room.

Adams knew he had no possible chance of reelection and, after a night spent at his desk making appointments in a desperate race to forestall Jefferson, Adams drove out of Washington for home on the dawn of the inaugural day.

Arrived at home, at 65, after a life of distinguished public service, he settled down in Quincy. He wrote ". . . I found about a hundred loads of sea weed in my barn-yard, and, recollecting Horace's '*Et genus et virtus, nisi cum re, vilior alga est,*' I thought I had made a good exchange . . . of honors and virtues for manure." And, later, "The only consolation I shall want will be that of employment. Ennui, when it rains on a man in large drops, is worse than one of our north-east storms; but the labors of agriculture and amusement of letters will shelter me. . . ."

In this spirit, John Adams went back to the farm which bore him. He lived for a quarter of a century more, the last eight of which he was bereft of his wife. He saw, however, what no other man has seen, a son follow him to the Presidency. At 90, fifty years after the Declaration of Independence was signed, he died. Thomas Jefferson, who preceded him in death a few hours, had described Adams as "Disinterested as the being who made him." That, it seems, is the justest as it is the most concise appraisal of the farmer Puritan of Massachusetts who, first lifting the Adams family to fame, served his country ablest of many but less fortunately than any.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

Born in what was then Braintree, but is now the modern city of Quincy, July 11, 1767, John Quincy Adams is probably the most unusual public servant the United States has ever had. Not only is he the only son of a President to be President but his term of service is the longest for any official of major dignity. From the age of fourteen, when he was secretary of the American legation in Russia, until he fell dying on the floor of Congress at the age of 81—a span of sixty seven years—he gave the United States fifty five years.

Few other lives, if any, were so intimately interwoven with the dramatic years of the establishment of America. While in his seventh year, he watched the smoke and flame of Bunker Hill, the first pitched battle of the Revolution. A little later, he heard the American guns on Dorchester Heights, and shortly stood on the shore of Braintree and watched the British fleet sailing out of Boston Harbor—a harbor which has never since been ploughed by the keel of a foe.

When ten, with his father in Congress welding the scattered colonial interests into the Confederation, John Quincy had to be the man of the Adams family. The same year, the lad went to France with his diplomat father and, within the next two years, the boy had crossed the Atlantic four times, not only flaunting the British warships but suffering the perils of shipwreck upon the Spanish coast.

And the life, thus strenuously begun, was not to close until 1848, when, after braving the threats of the slave bloc of the South for eight years, he single handed broke the “gag rule,” with the shadow of his physical end already dark upon his face.

Youth in Europe

Few American Presidents have enjoyed such a thorough European background as this second Adams. After his work was done in St. Petersburg, the boy leisurely traveled back to Holland, where he took up his studies again at The Hague, to be taken eventually to Paris by his father, where he varied his studies with employment as private secretary to his parent. When the elder Adams was made minister to England, the younger was, despite his seventeen years, a polished man even in London. He had traveled over most of Europe. His official duties had given him an acquaintance with many prominent men of the hour, men prominent in the arts and letters as well as in politics. And the boy, moreover, knew Greek, Latin, French,

German, Dutch and Russian so well that his father remarked upon his son's ability "to write better in foreign tongues than in his own."

But the younger Adams, despite his glittering opportunities in London, was "sensible of defects in education." Accordingly, he returned to Boston alone, with the intention of entering Harvard. Finding that his unorthodox education did not meet all the requirements of the Cambridge institution, this man of the world sent himself to a "prep" school at Haverhill for several months. Then, entering Harvard as a member of the junior class, he graduated in 1787 with high honors.

Soon after graduation, Adams opened a law office in Boston, following an apprenticeship in the office of Theophilus Parsons in Newburyport. Owing to financial disorders at the time, 1790, lawyers were not particularly popular—possibly because of universal debts and the employment of members of the legal profession as debt-collectors. It seems probable however, that Adams regarded the law as a training school and stepping stone to public office and he certainly did spend his six years as a lawyer in Boston skillfully and cautiously projecting himself into the lime-light. In the main, he used his pen as a weapon. (The Adams family has always found the pen mightier than the sword.) Thomas Paine's immortal *The Rights of Man* being very much in the public eye in 1791, young Adams undertook a series of newspaper articles answering the ideas expressed in the pamphlet. He did this job, under the name of "Publicola," so well that after it was learned that an Adams was the author, his father was accused of being guilty. These articles were then followed by others, more general, concerned with the problems of the hour in America, particularly in connection with foreign relations, a subject with which Adams was well acquainted.

In such wise Adams spent his time, a lawyer and a newspaper writer until his 27th birthday. That day he received word that President Washington had appointed him Minister at the Hague. With some misgivings, Adams accepted the appointment and left for Europe. Work at his new post proved not at all confining, but Adams was not the man to waste his time. He set himself to a daily three hour stint of "hard reading." Oddly enough, to modern ideas, he did this reading between six and nine o'clock in the morning! Adams, it is apparent from letters to his father, had no wish to continue the diplomatic career thus begun. He wanted to come back to Boston, not to take up his law again, but to become a professional writer. His newspaper articles had infected him with printer's ink, than which there is no disease more hopeless.

But the father, now president, had no such plans for his son, and instead of allowing him to come home, appointed him Minister to Portugal. However, this appointment was immediately cancelled in favor of a better assignment to Berlin. Washington had a high regard for the diplomatic abilities of young Adams and told the elder Adams that the relationship of father and son should never be allowed to hinder the advancement of the young man.

So, despite his dislike of receiving advancement from his father's hands, Adams went to Berlin. With him went his bride and his brother Charles. Mrs. Adams, the former Louisa Johnson, was the daughter of Joshua Johnson, a Marylander who was, at the time, American consul in London, where they met. The Adams family did not approve of the match particularly, for, although the girl was "charming, like a Romney portrait,—among her many charms that of being a New England woman was not one."

In Berlin, as in Holland, Adams had little official business to distract his attention and he avidly continued his reading and writing, managing also to accomplish considerable traveling, the fruits of which were a book of travel sketches.

While the younger Adams was thus busy in Germany, the elder went down with the Federalist party. As Jefferson could not be well expected to advance the career of the son of his political foe, and as both father and son had no wish to put the family in a delicate position, one of the last acts of the retiring President was to order his son home from Berlin and out of the public service. Thus President Adams solved an embarrassing situation, maintaining the dignity of the family with Chinese-like honor.

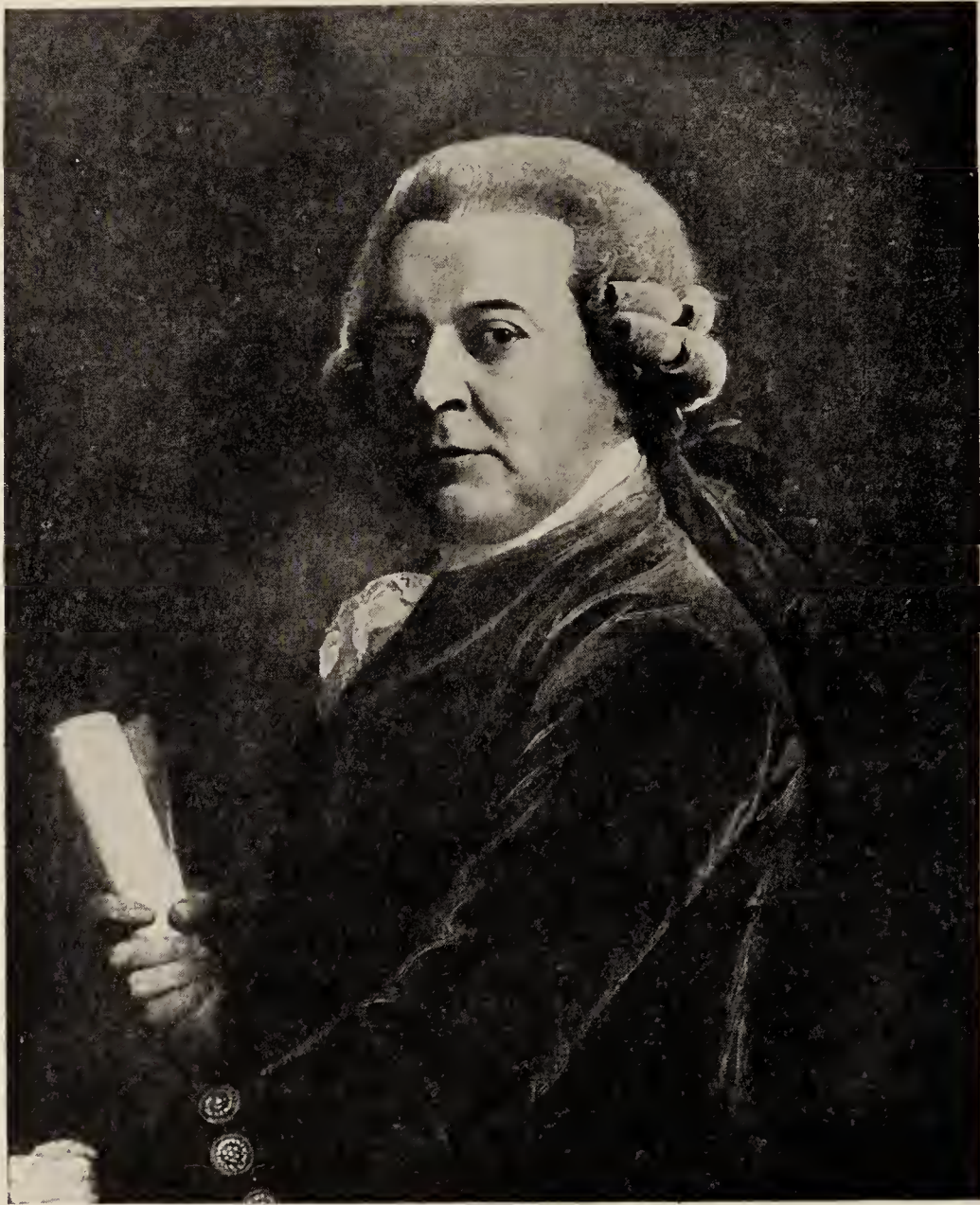
Adams, back in Boston, faced a world he could not recognize or even enter into with sympathy. When he went abroad, the party system was practically unknown; when he came back, the two major parties were not only defined, but had joined in battle. It was to be expected that Adams, being a New Englander and an Adams, would link himself with the Federalists. But, while superficially Adams did enter into membership, it was not a real union, for, to an Adams, independent in judgment and action, it was impossible that considerations of party expediency should ever weigh against personal probity.

Young Manhood in America

Although bent upon following literature as a career, Adams evidently concluded that his family needed a more assured income than his pen could provide, so he opened his law office again. An able man, despite the general dislike felt for his father over the French

anti-war policy, young Adams was quickly recognized and given the appointment of commissioner in bankruptcy—from which office he was speedily removed by President Jefferson.

This helped the career of Adams considerably, and in 1802 he



Portrait by Copley

JOHN ADAMS

was elected to the State Senate. After a single term, in which Adams did little more than bolt party lines whenever he felt inclined to do so, he was nominated for Congress by the Federalists, but lost by a few votes. However, in 1803, he was appointed United States Senator by the General Court.

Thus the second Adams entered the national stage. It is strange that this Adams, undoubtedly the most gifted of the dynasty, should

have been, from this point on, unhappy. He was the ablest man of the day, and he enjoyed the prestige of his father. But even his first years in Washington were sheer martyrdom. Added to the hatred felt for his father and heaped upon the son, Adams could not and would not bow down to the party system. Unbending, always a poor figure in social life, he failed to make the friends necessary to happiness and vital to political success. Plus these troubles, his financial difficulties were very grave; a business failure in London swept away a large part not only of his own capital, but also of his father's. Soon, Adams bolted party lines altogether, and, in fact, became more of a Republican than a member of his Federalist constituency. And when in 1807 Adams voted for Jefferson's Embargo, that body blow to the very life of the Massachusetts merchant marine, he committed the unpardonable sin in the eyes of Boston. He was a traitor, a renegade. In June, the Massachusetts General Court, nine months before his term as Senator was completed, insulted Adams by appointing his successor. Boston was finished with Adams! He resigned and came home an outcast. The Adams family was untouchable.

Back to Europe

But if the Federalists were done with Adams, America was not. Madison, coming into office, appointed the ex-senator minister to Russia. With the new minister, as he sailed away from Boston, into "honorable exile," was his wife, and a new son, his third, Charles Francis. The other two sons remained at home.

Even in St. Petersburg, gayest of European capitals, Adams could not be happy. His small personal estate was not sufficient to eke out the miserly pittance paid by the United States, and thus financial difficulties clouded the Russian period. Adams, of course, took refuge in his studies, but Mrs. Adams, with two sons on the other side of the world, must have been dissatisfied.

Into this dullness came an offer to Adams to join the bench of the United States Supreme Court. It speaks volumes for the solitary exiled man that, because he felt he was not fit for the responsibility, he declined the honor. If he had accepted, the United States might not have had a second Adams for a President, but that Adams would have been a happier man.

This offer, coming in 1811, Adams considered would be followed, upon his refusal, by his recall. To his astonishment, he was ordered instead to Ghent to be a commissioner to treat with British Commissioners to end the War of 1812. After a bitter journey across ice-

littered seas, he arrived in Ghent and met the other four American Commissioners. Mrs. Adams was left behind in Russia.

For seven months the Commissioners labored in the old Flemish town. The Americans had much to bear with from British arrogance and as well as aggressiveness. Chief points of difficulty were British rights on the Mississippi and American rights on the Grand Banks. Right up to the end, the British remained stubborn, but suddenly they relented, making an about face, and on Christmas Eve, a treaty was signed which, if nothing that the United States had gone to war about was either gained or mentioned, initiated a peace which has never since been broken.

Adams went to Paris and sent word to his wife in St. Petersburg that, whatever happened, he would not return to Russia. She must, therefore, dispose of their property and make a mid-winter journey across war-torn Europe in a sleigh with a seven-year old son. Just as Mrs. Adams was in the midst of her forty day trip, Napoleon landed and war flamed out anew. Adams suffered great anxiety as the day of the expected arrival of his wife came without any word from her. But, three days later, she entered Paris and the anguish was extinguished in the happiness of a reunited family.

While waiting in Paris for his wife, Adams had been appointed Minister to England, and thus he followed his father's footsteps to London at the close of war between America and Britain. In the spring the Adams family went over the Channel and there they were joined by their two elder sons.

For two years, Adams served in England. Poverty in St. Petersburg had been bad enough where everyone was friendly; it was much worse at St. James's where frowns were more common than smiles. But Adams was strong enough to withstand the polite snubs and the difficult embarrassments and he maintained the interests of America with characteristic stubborn success and dignity. But two years of this dogged life was enough even for Adams and, when in 1817 he received a letter appointing him Secretary of State in the cabinet of incoming President Monroe, he gladly shook the dust of Europe from his feet and went home for the rest of his life.

Washington Again

Adams came home to find an America which, "growing fearfully in leaps and bounds" had definitely turned its face from Europe to look to the setting sun. Multitudes of intricate problems were thus created and the new Secretary of State found his desk heaped with

difficulties such as few cabinet members have been faced with in times of peace.

There was the Florida question. Spain still owned the area although the United States had its claims. The dispute was long and involved but eventually Adams won a brilliant victory of diplomacy and the United States added Florida to its territory. This was the outstanding event of Monroe's first term.

The outstanding event of Monroe's second term was the celebrated Monroe Doctrine. In a history of one State, there is neither value nor need to consider this classical document of national policy. It is sufficient to say that Adams played a leading role in the involved circumstances which led up to the creation of this formulation and crystallization of American policy, and that Adams played an equally determining part in shaping the expression of the principles as well as in the quarrying of the principles themselves out of the amorphous mass of American public opinion. The Monroe Doctrine is as firmly entrenched in American thought as Washington's Farewell Address; both bear the influence of the Adams genius.

The Presidency

As 1824 drew along, marking the end of Monroe, there was no doubt in the mind of a large part of the American public that John Quincy Adams was deserving of the White House. Few other Secretaries of State have accomplished so much, displayed so great ability and served so many years. Certainly, looking back over the one hundred years, it would seem as if the Quincy man should have stepped as quietly from the Cabinet to the Presidency as from Quincy to Boston.

But, then, as now, there were other ambitious men and as the time for election drew nearer and nearer, Adams was stormed by a blizzard of virulent criticism, defamation and even slander! Every device known to politics was employed to defeat the one man in America who deserved the White House. Excepting for a single pamphlet, Adams maintained a dignified silence. In his diary, during this tempestuous period, the Old Roman wrote ". . . a man qualified for the elective Chief Magistracy of ten millions of people should be a man proof alike to prosperous and adverse fortune. If I am able to bear success, I must be tempered to endure defeat." Home in Quincy, the aged John Adams watched his son's bid for power with intense interest but with dismal gloom; he said, ". . . my son will never get a chance at the Presidency until the last Virginian is in his grave."

When the electoral votes were finally counted, it was found that no candidate had been elected. General Jackson had 99 votes, Adams 84, Crawford, 41 and Clay 37. Thus the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, according to the law of the time. Crawford suffered a cerebral hemorrhage and was thus eliminated. So, the matter boiled down to the question: to whom would Clay throw his influence? Clay wasted no love upon Adams but he positively hated General Jackson. In order to check Clay's probable allegiance to the detested Bostonian, Jackson's political managers unleashed one of the most cruel stratagems that Washington has witnessed—and the hybrid city on the Potomac has witnessed plenty of chicanery.

Jackson's office gave out a story to the effect that Adams had bought Clay's support by promising to make him Secretary of State. Another version of the trick is that Jackson alleged that Clay had offered to give his support to either candidate who would promise him the Cabinet post and that, whereas Jackson had refused, Adams had accepted the offer. Thus Jackson sought to blacken Clay's reputation and to prevent him from supporting Adams. The House held the election on February 9th amid the most intense excitement. On the very first ballot Adams was elected with thirteen votes over Jackson's seven and Clay's four. Because Adams believed that Clay, as the third candidate, was entitled to the Secretary of State post, he gave it to the man forthwith. This, shouted Jackson, is proof positive of a trade between Clay and Adams.

Adams' first action upon being elected was to send the news to his slowly sinking father in Quincy. Back came the following letter:

"My dear Son:—I have received your letter of the 9th. Never did I feel so much solemnity as upon this occasion. The multitude of my thoughts, and the intensity of my feelings are too much for a mind like mine, in its 90th year. May the blessing of God Almighty continue to protect you to the end of your life, as it has heretofore protected you in so remarkable a manner from your cradle. I offer the same prayer for your lady and your family, and am your affectionate father. John Adams."

But, if the Adams second generation had climbed the heights, happiness was not gained thereby. He stepped into the White House with his heart bitter against Jackson and his mind filled with resentment against the people for having favored the General over the statesman. The Puritan opened his inaugural day "with a supplication to Heaven" and closed it, retiring early from the Grand Ball,

"with Thanksgiving to God and a prayer for help." Adams had need of Divine aid, for his four years were one, long martyrdom.

Even before he took office, Adams knew he probably could not be re-elected, and Washington was treated to the spectacle of a lonely, stiff-necked, icy individualist in the White House, deserted by all officialdom, which engaged in a mad scramble to tie themselves securely to the coat-tails of General Jackson, the next President. If such a condition had to be endured by a President, it was well for the United States that a New England Puritan was that President for, although Adams was devoid of a sense of humor and rigidly frozen in his uncompromising individualism, he was stalwart enough to walk alone in the path his intelligence dictated, and to meet the duties and responsibilities of his office, not heedless of criticism but despite it.

His was the simple life in a mansion. This short, tubby, bald-headed sour-visaged man arose before dawn, built his own fire, read his daily stint in the Bible and then walked about, or swam in the Potomac alone, while the rest of Washington slumbered. In the light of this mode of life, a mode become habitual by his poverty-stricken years in Russia and London, it is an interesting illumination of politics as they are played in Washington that Jackson was enabled to paint Adams as a spendthrift gambler—the latter because he purchased a billiard table upon which to play with his son; the former because he furnished the bare East Room.

In fact, Adams probably spent as little proportionately upon his person and household as any President. Adams was, indeed, notorious for being shabbily dressed; Washington alleged that he wore the same hat for years upon end and his favorite undress garb was said to be an old straw hat, jeans and a jacket much the worse for wear.

One anecdote paints the real man. One summer dawn, while swimming in the Potomac, some thief, or joker, stole the President's clothes. When Adams came ashore and missed his clothes, he ran up and down the river bank looking for them until, finally espying a boy, he requested him to go to the White House and to ask Mrs. Adams for some clothes for the President! Picture that situation today.

Long before the four years drew to a close, four years of the most regrettable political machinations, it was evident that Jackson, the leading candidate, was to suffer the same defamation that Adams had endured. One of the blackest political moral assassinations came when it was discovered that Jackson's wife, a divorced woman, had

been married to Jackson before her divorce had been legally complete. Although Jackson had had another ceremony performed, the politicians opposed to Jackson made the most of the scandal and American politics suffered a disgrace that a century has not removed.

Adams had nothing to do with this unhappy business, but Jackson believed he had and countered with a libel to the effect that the Puritan, while Minister in St. Petersburg, had betrayed a young American girl into the lust of a Russian Grand Duke.

Democracy, feeding upon such campaign material, waxed triumphant, and Adams was defeated before he started. The wonder is he ran at all. Jackson received 178 electoral votes; Adams 83. This defeat was the most crushing any President received until 80 years later, when President Taft was repudiated. However, it was more than the defeat of a man. When Adams rode away from the White House at the end of his four years, it was the end of an era in American life. Democracy was enthroned; the United States planned by the writers of the Constitution, the United States fought for by the patriots of 1776, ceased to be. For better or for worse, a new America came into being when Adams headed home for Boston and Jackson rode up to the White House.

Anti-Climax

Always before, and since, when a man left the White House, his political life was ended. The climax was reached; nothing remained but a folding of the hands. The problem of the unemployment of our ex-presidents has been, and is, chronic.

But, for John Quincy Adams, the end of what should have been the greatest period of his life, was but the prelude to a term of really glorious public service in which, succinctly, Adams forgot that he had been president and went to work like any other citizen, in which he was to accomplish his real life's work, the defense of liberty.

Upon Adams' taking up a broken life again in Boston, several difficult problems faced him. First, he was in financial difficulty. He and his father had devoted their lives to public services; their careers had been a drain upon their estates rather than an upbuilding. Thus, the real property of the Adamses was heavily mortgaged and much of the income had to be budgeted to meet interest payments. Second, he was in a quandary about a job. Because of the old Federalist bitterness against him, Adams could not hope for either a legal or a commercial career. To occupy his time, Adams turned to his old mistress, his pen, and began a biography of his father.

But the same guidance which father John Adams had remarked, was still upholding the son. In September 1830, he was asked if he would deign to represent the Plymouth Rock district in Congress. He said that he would if it was understood that he would not be obliged to hold himself accountable to any party or section. That these terms were acceptable and that Plymouth District was peopled with respectable citizens—or maybe that New England was not partisan in 1830—is shown by the fact that Adams went to Washington again with a thumping big majority and held the seat thereafter, not only as a Plymouth Representative, but as Representative-at-large.

Consider this man Adams, 65 years old, ex-President, ex-Secretary of State, ex-Minister to St. James's, forgetting honors and dignities enough to satisfy any man, and going back to Washington a representative, "beginning again as a mere boy"! Puritan? Certainly, a real Puritan!

Friends objected and his family rebelled, particularly Charles Francis, who did not want to see his father lessened—as Charles Francis thought. But then Charles Francis had married Abigail Brown, daughter of Peter Chardon Brooks, the wealthiest man in Boston, and sister-in-law to Edward Everett, William Emerson and Nathaniel Frothingham.

But Adams was happy at last. In his diary he wrote,

" . . . But this call upon me by the people of the district in which I reside, to represent them in Congress, has been spontaneous and, although counteracted by a double opposition. . . . I have received nearly three votes in four throughout the entire district. My election as President of the United States was not half so gratifying to my inmost soul. No election or appointment conferred upon me ever gave me so much pleasure. I say this to record my sentiments; but no stranger intermeddleth with my joys, and the dearest of my friends have no sympathy with my sensations."

Adams' work in Washington belongs to American history; it was not for the Commonwealth so much as it was for the Nation. Famous contest after contest, in which the old man walked alone onto the floor of the Capitol to meet his triumphant enemies, starred his years. Of these, the supreme engagement, the crowning accomplishment of his long life, was the contest against slavery's infamous "gag rule."

Adams was not, it seems evident, an abolitionist. But, as the representative of a strong abolitionist district, he held himself duty bound to present various petitions he received for the abolition of

slavery. In the beginning, this was of little importance; no one bothered with the "long-haired, cracked abolitionists." But, abolitionism grew stronger and, proportionately, the South became apprehensive and, eventually, persuaded the House to close its ears against the petitions from the North, to gag the Abolitionists.

This, to Adams, was a method absolutely opposed to the liberty promised by the Constitution. Supreme in his conviction that the right of petition should not and could not be legally denied, he took up the cudgels and for eight solid years fought the gag rule, which meant fighting the entrenched interests of the slave South and the trading North. American legislative history has no nobler spectacle than this Old Roman, bowed with years, feeble in strength, standing up to all comers and insisting not once but constantly for eight years that the right to petition could not be denied legally. In one day he presented more than 500 petitions. The House stormed about his ears in rage. He was threatened with beatings; his assassination was not only threatened but promised. Six times, members of the House moved to censure Adams but not a single motion was ever brought to vote. Adams' courage won the admiration of a hostile House.

At the beginning the cause seemed hopeless. But, slowly the support of the gag rule melted and in 1845 he triumphed. On December 3rd, when Adams was 78, the vote abolishing the gag went through at last, 108 in favor, 80 opposed.

Adams' life was crowned that day. But he still carried on with his duties. The shadow of his end was upon him. On November 19, 1846, a cerebral hemorrhage struck him down upon the streets of Boston. Did he lie down and wait for the inevitable second stroke? Not a bit of it; he returned to Washington as soon as he was able to stand alone again. As he was escorted to his seat in Congress, every member stood and cheered, cheered the Old Puritan who had beaten the entire body.

Adams, although in Washington, was not physically able to take an active part again. He rose to speak but once more. That was on the 21st of February, 1848. As he stood to his feet, the Speaker was putting a question. His words were drowned in a sudden horrified outburst of "Stop! Stop! Mr. Adams!" The Speaker looked; "Mr. Adams" was insensible upon the floor. Removed to a little room off the old Hall of the House, the flower of the Adams family lingered until the evening of the 22nd. He recovered consciousness but once. He opened his eyes, looked about and said, clearly, "This is the last of earth! I am content!"

So, at his post of duty, passed America's most distinguished servant. This was the man, who, turned out of Presidential office at the age of 62, unconscious of the glorious destiny as champion of liberty that awaited him, wrote in his beloved diary,

"No one knows and few conceive, the agony of mind that I have suffered from the time that I was made by circumstances, and not by my volition, a candidate for the Presidency till I was dismissed from that station by the failure of my re-election. They were feelings to be suppressed; and they were suppressed. No human being has ever heard me complain."

CHARLES FRANCIS ADAMS

In a wooden house, where Tremont and Boylston Streets now make one of Boston's busiest corners, Charles Francis Adams was born August 18, 1807, the third son of John Quincy Adams. After a boyhood spent abroad with his father, mostly in France and England, when John Quincy went to Washington as Secretary of State, the boy entered Boston Latin School and, at the age of 15, entered Harvard, from which institution he graduated in 1825. Then, after living with his father in the White House, and in Washington for a time, he came home to Boston, read law in the office of Daniel Webster and was admitted to the bar in 1829.

A few weeks later, he made an excellent marriage, winning Abigail Brown, daughter of Peter C. Brooks, wealthiest of Boston merchants, whose other daughters married Nathaniel Frothingham, Edward Everett and William Emerson. Thus allied by marriage to a most distinguished set of families, Adams, upon the death of Brooks became possessed of some \$300,000. This was in 1849, about a year after the death of John Quincy Adams.

For Charles Francis, these two years were of the utmost importance. Always before, the great father's brightness had obscured the brilliance of the son. With his father alive and active, the son was just a son and nothing more. When his father passed, the son could stand upon his own feet and those feet were tremendously buttressed with the death of Brooks. Adams' family had had glory enough; now, for the first time, the Adams Clan had wealth. The Adams family became financially and socially important, as well as merely politically significant.

Charles Francis was, at this time, 42 years of age, in the very flower of his manhood. He had been a lawyer since 1829; now, at last, the world was his. He had but to indicate his choice of a career and his wishes would be honored. Being an Adams, he was naturally

from the very beginning up to his neck in politics. Neither an abolitionist nor a stalwart Whig, he strode mainly down a middle path until 1846, when he, with a small group of intimate friends, including Charles Sumner and Richard H. Dana, organized what were known as the Conscience Whigs. This group, which would save the Union by freeing slaves, not because of any abolitionist fever but because the "Union must be preserved at all costs," ran afoul of leaders of Boston finance and soon a bitter struggle was raging within the ranks of the Whig Party. At first the group led by Adams carried everything before it, but, at the 1846 Whig State Convention, Abbott Lawrence, Whig stalwart, dragged Daniel Webster to the support of the orthodox and the Conscience group was routed. But the fight was not ended; the Conscience group bolted from the party and held a third party convention in Buffalo.

Charles Francis Adams was elected chairman of the convention and, without detailing the complicated national political situation, he emerged as vice-presidential candidate with Van Buren at the head of the ticket. This same Van Buren was one of John Quincy's bitterest enemies! Of course, Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate could not be defeated and Adams did not expect to win—but the third party ticket did gather in some 300,000 votes and thus Charles Francis Adams, for the first time, emerged from obscurity as his father's son and became a national figure in his own right.

After this essay into politics, Adams was content to retire and watch the star of his friend Charles Sumner rise. Continuing the literary tradition of the family, Charles Francis was content (and independent enough) to retire to his library and spend his energies from about 1850 to 1856 writing the ten volumes known as *Works of John Adams*. Perhaps it is significant that we now find an Adams content to sit at ease writing of the accomplishments of his family rather than accomplishing things himself.

But the genius of the Adams family would not let Charles Francis be in peace. Just as soon as the ten volumes were finished, Adams was sent to Congress from his father's old Congressional District in 1859. Taking an active part in the tempestuous campaign which elected Lincoln, Adams returned to his duties in the House and was appointed chairman of the House Committee on the State of the Union, a difficult assignment in which Adams skillfully managed to delay the traitorous activities of Southern members until Lincoln took office. His services were recognized when Lincoln shortly appointed an Adams again to the Court of St. James's. What does this odd parallel mean? At the time of the Revolution, John Adams

went to London. At the close of the War of 1812, John Quincy Adams went to London. And, now, in the heat of the Civil War, a period which might also have brought a third war with Britain, Charles Francis Adams went to London.

Adams arrived in England on May 13, 1861, to pick up his morning paper and read that the British Government intended to recognize the Confederacy as a belligerent and would issue a proclamation of neutrality. Adams and America considered this a most unfriendly act, dictated by an alleged hatred of the United States by British public opinion and influenced by English cotton manufacturers, who were dependent upon slave-grown cotton from the Southern States to keep their machines busy. Lincoln, of course, carried on the Civil War with the idea that the Confederacy was not a government and could not be recognized as such. Britain, probably with reason, acted properly according to European ideas of the time. For America, the business was a mere revolt; to the rest of the world, it was a war. Hot-heads in Washington, particularly Seward, would have made the involved business a reason for breaking with Britain; Lincoln wisely left it to Adams to deal with the situation, "to sit on the lid." Adams sat, and thus when only a few weeks in his new office, rendered signal service to the United States.

And this was only the beginning of much valuable and intelligent diplomacy. To consider all the incidents would entail writing the history of the Civil War in its relations to the commerce, industry and public opinion of Europe. Even the Mason and Slidell tempest was but one of a multitude of events in which Adams was the link through which temperate opinion in London and in Washington managed narrowly, time and time again, to preserve peace between Britain and the United States. Few diplomats served their nation better than did Charles Francis Adams in Civil War days. At length, in 1868, the Minister felt that his work had been completed and he resigned.

Back home in Quincy, the ex-diplomat buried himself again in his library and became so engrossed in his work that, in 1869, he declined to accept the presidency of Harvard University because the work would hinder the progress of more important plans! But he was not to be left in happy literary peace. The close of the war had left the Alabama Claims in a sorry wrangle and, when Britain and the United States agreed to appoint a Commission, together with Italy, Switzerland and Brazil (of all countries in the world) there was but one man fitted to be the American Commissioner. So, December, 1871, saw Charles Francis Adams in Geneva. For long

months, the business was hopelessly deadlocked by Grant's excessive claims and Britain's aggressive attitude. Finally, Adams saw a way out of the tangle, persuaded his colleagues that his method had merit and finally won \$15,500,000 in gold for the United States. Britain paid the fine promptly—but the matter was of far greater significance than a mere single victory. Adams had initiated a new era in relations between the United States and Britain and our present amicable spirit can be definitely dated from his work in Geneva.

Charles Francis was now definitely finished with public life; the third generation had completed its work of public service admirably and the old man once more retired to his library. There he undertook the editing of his father's diary and published it in a dozen volumes, thus giving to American history its most valuable single source document. This last book of the twelve came in 1877. The man laid down his pen with the remark, "I am now willing to go myself. My mission is ended and I may rest." Rest he did with his wife beside him, until November 21, 1886. Mrs. Adams remained with her sons for three years more.

FOUR DISTINGUISHED SONS

Long before Charles Francis Adams sat down to rest, his four sons had been busy making their own careers. Of the four, Henry is probably the best known to the world today. He was the third son of his father, born in Boston, beside the State House on Beacon Hill, February 16, 1838. He was christened Henry Brooks Adams, but dropped his middle name later. Educated both in America and Europe, traveling with his father, he very early became distinguished by his possession of the flowering of the Adams' literary gift. Almost from the day he was able to form his letters he was writing, and in 1865 or thereabouts, he definitely determined to follow neither the family tradition of law and politics but to devote himself exclusively to writing, particularly for the newspapers and magazines. He considered such work his way to power and prestige. By 1870 he was so well known as a political writer, that, possibly with considerable assistance from family influence, he settled in Cambridge to become editor of the *North American Review* in combination with a chair at Harvard in medieval history. In 1872, he further consolidated his pleasant circumstances by wedding Marion Hooper. From that time onward, he lived a happy, delightful existence free from all difficulty. He distinguished himself as a teacher, although very unorthodox in his methods. Among his scholars were A. Lawrence Lowell and Henry Cabot Lodge! As editor of the *Review*, he was similarly successful,

maintaining it upon a high level, long after the day of such publications had passed. Soon he tired of Cambridge and set about a glorious life of living at ease here and there, in Washington, in Paris, wherever he wished, and writing what he pleased. For a literary man, such a life is Paradise. Of his books, if what is a rash judgment may be ventured, two seem of permanent interest, aside from historical works such as *History of U. S. in Administration of Jefferson*. These are *Mont St. Michel and Chartres* and *Education of Henry Adams*. Of the first, it need only be said that it is an inspired re-creation of the soul of the Abbey of Mont Michel and the life, love, laughter, hate, horror and religion of the 13th century. Privately printed in 1904, the book was finally published at the desire of the American Institute of Architects in 1912 who recognized its unique values.

The *Education* was first printed in a preliminary form in 1907, also privately. In 1918, it was published, finally, posthumously, probably even then not in finished form, for in its very nature the book is one that can never be finished. It is unique, not only in that already it is one of the handful of classics of American literature, but also in that it is an attempt to reduce the chaos that is every man's mental and spiritual life into an ordered development in which the response of the human personality to environmental stimulation is explicable. This is not to say that the *Education* accomplished this magnificent ideal—it is evident that the book has its faults and errors—but it is equally clear that the work is one of the best "biographies" that have ever been written. John Quincy Adams wrote about his father. Charles Francis Adams wrote about his father. Henry Adams wrote about himself. Thus have times and the Adams family altered in three generations.

In 1912, Henry suffered a cerebral hemorrhage from which, despite medical gloom, he recovered partially. He went to France, where he was living when the World War flamed. Before that war ended, on the 27th of March, 1918, he was found dead in bed. He had died in his sleep, a peaceful ending to a peaceful life.

JOHN QUINCY II

Eldest son of Charles Francis, John Quincy II was born in Boston September 22, 1833. Educated at Boston Latin School and Harvard, he married Fanny Crowninshield, daughter of a wealthy Boston family in April 1861, a ceremony which delayed the sailing of Minister Charles Francis to London. A lawyer, and one of the leaders of the Democratic Party in Massachusetts during the decade after

the War, he, with his brother Charles, practically ran the town affairs of Quincy for many years. In the 1890's, the Democratic Party coming into national power, he was offered the cabinet post of Secretary of the Navy, but declined because of ill health. Thus, after a life-time of fighting with a weak party, he was forced into retirement at the time his efforts flowered. Seeking health in France, he died there in 1894 from the same cerebral hemorrhages that have afflicted the family.

CHARLES FRANCIS II

The second son, Charles Francis Jr., was also born in Boston, in 1835. Educated at Boston Latin School and Harvard, he was always of a studious and sedentary habit. After distinguished service as an officer in the Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry, a "black" regiment, he suffered ill health and was mustered out in 1865 as a brigadier-general, having been originally commissioned a first lieutenant. While recuperating in Newport, he met and married Mary Ogden of New York, with whom he went to Europe. Being in need of work and of income, he started in at the age of 31 as a lawyer but soon deliberately elected to identify himself with railroad administration. Like other Adamses, he used his pen as a sword to open the oyster of opportunity. His merit was recognized in 1869 when he was made a Railroad Commissioner for the Commonwealth and played an influential part in the development of the railroads. From that period on he was closely identified with transportation, both as a lawyer and as an administrator, rising to the presidency of the Union Pacific—from which post, incidentally, he was later ousted by Gould. The financial panic of 1893 worsted him, and he spent the next four years in desperate financial combat, adjusting his losses. The struggle wore him out and he practically retired to a new home in the town of Lincoln. There he devoted himself to the family business of writing and produced many works of permanent historical and political value. When death overtook him in 1915, he was engaged in a diplomatic history of the Civil War, being interested because of his father's leading role in that epic.

BROOKS ADAMS

This fourth son of Charles Francis was born in Boston, June 24, 1848. Graduating from Boston Latin School and Harvard, a generation after his two brothers, he went to Geneva as secretary to his father in the Alabama Commission and returned to Boston to set up as a lawyer. He took up his pen and wrote the first "de-bunking"

history of Massachusetts, which caused him much embarrassment and gave him even more criticism, but changed the whole pietistic method of writing about the Fathers of the Colony. Being very sensitive and retiring, he gave up his law practice in 1881 and, after drifting about, settled down in 1889 with his marriage to Evelyn Davis, daughter of Admiral Charles Davis, United States Navy. Thereafter he concerned himself with writing, being chiefly interested in history. His *Law of Civilization and Decay*, which contained his scientific theory of history, was and is neglected in America but enjoys appreciation in Europe, having been widely translated, and, possibly, of influence upon Herr Spengler, the modern historical pessimist.

Several other historical works, which became more and more philosophical and controversial, followed. His work is brilliant but it is the least orderly and thoughtful of any of the family. He died in 1927. Interestingly enough, he was the last Adams to live in the old house in Quincy. It became, in mid-1927, public property, a memorial to the Adams family and an object lesson to modern city development.

THE MODERN ADAMS

Today, the most approachable, if the saltiest, of bankers, Charles Francis Adams III, sits on Federal Street, President of the Union Trust Company, branch of the State Street Trust Company. Son of John Quincy's grandson, John Quincy, he too is a Harvard graduate and, like other Adams men, has served the Harvard Corporation, being its treasurer for many years. The first John Adams founded the American Navy; this Charles Francis was its Secretary during Hoover's administration, in addition to following the family tradition of the law. But, it is not as a lawyer, not as a Secretary of the Navy, not as a banker, that the world knows this Adams. It knows him as an amateur sailor. Amid the more than 300 yachts, annually racing at Marblehead each August, one great white sloop is often singled out. "There she goes with Adams at the helm." He, this modern Adams, is one of America's greatest yachtsmen. He defended the American Cup against the British perpetual challenge! He kept the hideous, if precious above rubies, silver trophy at home!

CHAPTER L

Daniel Webster

Why is it that so many of the statesmen the Commonwealth of Massachusetts has sent to Washington have transcended the narrow business of merely representing their own state and become both conspicuous and commanding captains of nationalism? The Adams family were all Federalists at the hour of that party's service in the formation of the nation. Henry Cabot Lodge was the modern David who slew the Goliath of European entanglement. And, in the middle years, Daniel Webster was the orator whose half century of lyrical patriotism so entered into the thought of the North that, at the time of the Civil War, it was his "love for the Union and the sentiment of nationality which nerved the arm of the North and sustained her courage." As long as the United States endures, it will owe much to the senators from Massachusetts who helped build it, helped preserve it and helped develop it.

And, as much as to any man, it will owe this debt to Daniel Webster. He once said, "There are no Alleghanies in my politics." This was the exact truth; he was thoroughly the nationalist and in the critical period preceding the Rebellion, his fidelity to the Union never faltered. Few other men have had their patriotism kindled so magnificently by the manifest destiny of the United States. Still fewer men have had the genius to translate this emotion into words winged enough to awaken similar feelings in millions of their fellows. Literally, Webster preached the gospel of patriotism all his life. His words passed into the street-corner and fire-side talk of America—west of the Alleghenies as well as in State Street and down the Mississippi. They had their first fruits in 1861 and they are still bearing today as every schoolboy feels his blood stirring as he reads the words of the great orator. Webster was and is and always will be the exponent of American nationalism.

However, while this deeper significance of the man remains, it was his more spectacular genius as an orator that brings him to the

mind of the present generation. So long as there is an English literature, Webster's speeches will be read and ranked among the best.

Once, in giving a tribute, in the fashion of the time, to Samuel Dexter, Webster praised the man in words that unconsciously were an ideal portrait of the speaker himself. "He was a lawyer, and he was also a statesman. He had studied the Constitution that he might defend it. He had examined its principles that he might maintain them. More than all men, or at least as much as any man, he was attached to the general government and to union of the states. His feelings and opinions all ran in that direction. A question of constitutional law was, of all subjects, that one which was best suited to his talents and learning. Aloof from technicalities and unfettered by artificial rules, such a question gave opportunities for that deep and clear analysis, that mighty grasp of principle, which so much distinguished his high efforts. His very statement was argument. His inference seemed demonstration. The earnestness of his own conviction wrought conviction in others. One was convinced and believed and assented because it was gratifying, delightful, to think, to feel and believe, in unison with an intellect of such evident superiority."

And, if Webster thus pictured himself, he also best defined what the genius in oratory he demonstrated was based upon. "True eloquence does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from afar. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire to it; they cannot reach it. It comes, if it come at all, like the outbreking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, and native force."

Often genius is expressed through the medium of an inappropriate body—as a high tenor voice cabined in the frame of a six footer or a deep bass in the frame of a dwarf. But Webster's genius was housed in a magnificent edifice; his person was that of the ideal orator. He was described as "a splendid animal." One critic said "he must be a charlatan; no man can be as great as he looks." Admirers called him "the God-like Daniel." When he walked down the street, folks turned to look back at him, even strangers. No figure in public life today has such a personality. From descriptions, it appears that it was his head and face that were chiefly responsible—for he lacked several inches of six feet and never, even

in his best days, exceeded two hundred pounds in weight. Many men with stern and heavy features are said to be leonine; Webster really deserved the appellation. His brow was really "lofty" and did "tower above the craters of his cavernous eyes." And he could manage the muscles of his face as well as any movie star. His facial expression could change in an instant from a "smile of irresistible sweetness . . . to a portentous darkness which seemed to shake the landscape." And, also, and of the greatest importance, his voice was rich and resonant and very flexible. Many intelligent speakers are so vocally handicapped that their voices are too heavy for small gatherings and become strained and harsh when lifted to fill a hall. Webster escaped this handicap—his voice adjusted itself amazingly to every requirement, with equal success to the physical requirements of the environment and to the changing emotion of his subject matter. Finally, he was no stuffed doll, making automatic and stagey gestures to emphasize his points. He was eternally natural; he seemed to lose his individual identity to become the man or the principle he was discussing. However he may have labored to write his speech, once on the platform, the words came forth naturally and readily with a spontaneity that only genius exhibits.

Here is a picture of Webster in 1826 in a Boston oration eulogizing the twin figures of Adams and Jefferson, coincidentally dead on the 50th anniversary of the birth of the nation they had helped create. "Mr. Webster spoke in an orator's gown, and wore small clothes. He was in the perfection of his manly beauty and strength; his form filled out to its finest proportions, and his bearing, as he stood before the vast multitude, that of absolute dignity and power. His manuscript lay on a small table near him, but he did not refer to it. His manner of speaking was deliberate and commanding. When he came to the passage on eloquence, and to the words, 'it is action, noble, sublime, godlike action,' he stamped his foot repeatedly on the stage, his form seemed to dilate, and he stood the personification of what he so perfectly described."

But Webster did not always limit himself to noble and logically built up climaxes. At times, he would spurn all argument and gain his point by a veritable lightning-bolt of passion. Witness this extract from his address to a Salem jury when he was acting as a lawyer in 1830 in the celebrated trial of Francis Knapp for the murder of Captain White. It was necessary for Webster to convince the jury that one Crowninshield was the actual killer (Knapp being an accessory, according to the prosecution's plan). Yet there was no evidence that Crowninshield did the killing. He had committed

suicide and Webster undertook to convince the jury that this suicide was confession of the actual murder. Listen! "The secret which the murderer possesses soon comes to possess him; and, like the evil spirits of which we read, it overcomes him, and leads him whithersoever it will. He feels it beating at his heart, rising to his throat, and demanding disclosure. He thinks the whole world sees it in his face, reads it in his eyes, and almost hears its workings in the very silence of his thoughts. It has become his master. It betrays his discretion, it breaks down his courage, it conquers his prudence. When suspicions from without begin to embarrass him, and the net of circumstance to entangle him, the fatal secret struggles with still greater violence to burst forth. It must be confessed, it will be confessed; there is no refuge from confession but suicide,—and suicide is confession."

Of course, in nearly all of his public appearances, Webster displayed his genius of downright beauty of form and expression. If at times he was too heavy and ponderous this fault undoubtedly arose from his sense of decorum and dignity—he may have sincerely believed himself to have become America articulate and as such was necessarily great and majestic. Then, too, he was habitually concerned with issues and principles which did not admit of light treatment. Thus, if upon occasion he was too weighty, he was seldom trivial and never commonplace or obscure. He was perennially characterized by "superb propriety"—a quality which fitted his era to perfection, however out of place it would be in the day of radio broadcasting. Even on the most extemporaneous occasion his words had meaning and were arranged with the precision that was the man's own mental processes. And, when he was inspired by a really great subject, he arose to "a grandeur of diction and imagery that moves like the verse of Milton." One of his contemporaries wrote, "On the critical and momentous occasions that broke up the fountains of the great deep within him, there is in his speech a massing of forces, an irresistible weight of advance, an overwhelming rush and sweep of assault, that stirs the blood like the movement of an embattled host."

And yet, despite all this, there was clay in Webster. He often betrayed an over-fondness for classical allusions and was very apt to ornament his oratory with Latin quotations. His motivation for this scholasticism is betrayed in a letter to his son: "If a man can gracefully and without the air of a pedant show a little more knowledge than the occasion requires, the world will give him credit for eminent attainments. It is an honest quackery. I have practiced it, sometimes

with success." Here is an example of this fondness for an unnecessary learning; it was delivered in 1838, a reply to Calhoun when the Southern orator had threatened "to carry the War into Africa," meaning to beard Webster in his Massachusetts home.

"As I recollect it," Webster answered, "when Scipio resolved upon carrying war into Africa, Hannibal was not at home. Now, sir, I am very little like Hannibal, but I am at home, and when Scipio Africanus South Carolinienses brings the war into my territories, I shall not leave their defense to Asdrubal, not Syphax, nor anybody else. I meet him on the shore at his landing, and propose but one contest."

And this same habit of rhetoric also led him to develop an idea beyond the limits of his intention. Such was the case in 1844 when he was at home in Marshfield, criticising his home folk who had abandoned Van Buren to elect Polk. Someone had dubbed the deserters "doughfaces." Declaimed Webster: "I think that 'doughface' is an epithet not sufficiently reproachful. Such persons are doughfaces, with dough heads and dough hearts and dough souls. They are all dough; the coarsest potter may mould them into vessels of dishonor."

Probably the dearest wish of Webster's heart was to be President. With all his mental and oratorical accomplishments, it must have seemed to the man that the position was rightfully his and, doubtless his failure to attain the White House was one of the reasons of his bitterness at the end of his life. Yet the fact is that Webster never even approached within sight of the presidency; he was a great man but he was not great in the little, endearing personalities which can lift a man without a tenth of Webster's genius and drop him into the White House over the heads of a dozen better men. Henry Cabot Lodge has written on this point: "The country was proud of Mr. Webster; proud of his intellect, his eloquence, his fame. He was the idol of the capitalists, the merchants, the lawyers . . . The politicians dreaded and feared him because he was so great, and so little in sympathy with them, but his real weakness was with the masses of the people. He was not popular in the true sense of the word. . . . His following was strong in quality, but weak numerically. The people were proud of him, wondered at him, were awed by him, but they did not love him, and that was the reason he was never President, for he was too great to succeed to the high office, as many men have, by happy or unhappy accident."

True as this is, there is yet another reason why Webster was never more than the Great Senator—everyone, even his closest friends, never trusted his sincerity absolutely. They seem to have regarded

him as a voice and not as a man. Any good singer can, without straining his own emotions, express the deepest sorrow and joy in his songs. Webster's supporters evidently thought that Webster had this same faculty; that he could storm and rage, plead and argue and climb to divine heights of oratory in the cause of justice, patriotism and honor without himself being personally much concerned. Perhaps Webster was the lawyer, an advocate who did not believe with "fervent faith" in either side of the question he was orating. Be that as it may have been, the blight followed him all through his political career and it was sufficient beyond doubt when united with the man's personal coldness and dignity—high-hattedness—to make it impossible for him to achieve the popularity with either one of the two groups necessary to leaping the fence of competitors into the White House, the politicians or the people.

This seems difficult of appreciation because Webster himself, to the very narrow circle of his friends, was a simple, hearty and genuine companion. He was brimming with laughter and jokes and liked to frolic whenever he felt free from observation. A very early riser, as most robust men are, one of his favorite bits of horseplay was to go shouting and singing through the house at day-break, arousing everyone beyond hope of returning to the sweetest hour's sleep of all the night. Webster at times was so filled with high spirits that he would caper about the drawing rooms of his intimates, dancing madly with anyone he could get his arm about. At work, he would often sing at the top of his ample lungs and the more discordant the outburst of noise, the better he enjoyed it.

As is thus evident, Webster was a man of strong appetites and passions, emotions which he indulged to the loss of both health and standing. With these common failings, he was also unfortunate to be cursed with the inability to keep hold of money. As a youth, he was indifferent to debt and this characteristic developed through the years so that, despite the large sums of money he earned and received, his debts mounted with his age. As a young lawyer in Boston, he earned more than twenty thousand a year—a magnificent income for the time. He lived far beyond his means then and, in Congress, he multiplied his extravagances. He liked to live well—and live well he did. Probably he enjoyed his luxuries; certainly he gloried in being generous, for he gave money away with reckless extravagance, often welcoming an opportunity to give money without even knowing who would receive it. As a result, he was often in financial difficulty. When the deficit became too deep, he would be saved from drowning by his friends. Then he would embark upon another splurge of

extravagance, hospitality and generosity until another rescue expedition was made necessary. In fact, Webster thought that this was natural and proper. He was giving the nation tremendous services, services of a value far beyond his salary. Thus it seemed only fitting and proper that bankers, merchants, friends and admirers should, every now and then, help him maintain his blaze of glory. As was natural, this pensioning or subsidizing brought him under suspicion and it was openly alleged time and time again that he sold his influence and position to the highest bidder. There is no evidence of this, however. Webster was, if he was anything, a thoroughly upright and honest man. He regarded contributions to his personal funds as tributes to his genius and he never permitted any gift to sway his intense devotion to nationalism. In fact, it is evident that he held money in contempt. He could always obtain funds when he needed them so he had no need of selling himself to obtain them.

Further evidence that Webster did not sell himself comes indirectly from his seventieth and last year. That year, for the sake of a large fee, he undertook a difficult law case. Talking about it with a friend, who advised him against overtaking his strength by such work, he replied by calculating that if he could only last a few years longer and continue to earn a few such fees he would be enabled "to die a free man." But this final aim was, like the Presidency, never to be accomplished.

Really, fundamentally, Webster is the spectacle of a man led into a life work by his oratorical talent from a simpler work in which he would have been more happy if less successful. It appears from his own writing, that he did not feel at home in Washington. He constantly betrays his dislike of the labors and restraints of public life—not only when he began to understand that he would never be president, but even when he was acclaimed in his prime as the greatest orator, he was always wishing he could take off his garments of office and get back to his shirt sleeves on his seashore farm at Marshfield. An enthusiastic farmer, he spent large sums in "gentleman agriculture" and it was one of his greatest joys to get out in the early morning and tramp the salt marshes gunning for duck or to spend the heat of the day wading some shaded brook with his rod angling for trout. Even while he was holding Congress and his long series of vast public audiences spellbound with his eloquence, it is probable that he was wishing he was off the platform and home walking his fields, treasuring his orchard, thinning his woodland or just talking with the farmers, hunters and fishermen who, above all men, he esteemed the most. In fact, he himself wrote late in life, at the time when a man's

judgments are most sifted, that farming was dearer to him than "professional triumphs or public distinctions, which he found empty of satisfaction." One of the last letters he wrote contained these two sentences, "I have spent my life in law and politics. Law is uncertain, and politics utterly vain." This was the concluding statement of America's greatest orator and the nation's tower of patriotic strength.

BIOGRAPHICAL

Like Massachusetts' latest distinguished son, Calvin Coolidge, Webster was not a native of the Bay State, although he left the barren farms and the limited opportunities of the Granite State for the richer life of Massachusetts—as did Coolidge. If not a native of Boston, the Webster family was of the same stock which settled the Bay Colony.

Among the Puritans who settled in New Hampshire in 1636, was one Thomas Webster, said to be of Scotch extraction. This Scotch blood may explain the genius of the statesman, incidentally. Thomas Webster left many descendants scattered about New England, sons and daughters who played an unhonored and unsung part in fighting off the bloody Indians and carving farms out of the evergreen forests, wherever a patch of fertile soil could be discovered among the granite.

In Kingston, in 1739, to a branch of this Webster family was born a son, Ebenezer. In 1760, he came of age in the midst of the great French War and enlisted in Roger's Rangers, a frontier company of Indian fighters who fought the Indians so fiercely that the very rumor "the Rangers" are coming would stop the lifted hatchet of the Indian raider above the very head of a victim and send the savages scurrying terror stricken towards Canada. In 1763, Ebenezer came to Salisbury, married and settled down as a farmer with nothing civilized between his log hut and the French settlements on the St. Lawrence. In ten years, his wife died and the man married again within the year. In less than another year, the Revolution broke and the Indian veteran raised two hundred men and fought at Dorchester under Washington, at Bennington and distinguished himself at West Point. He was a great man, physically and mentally, winning the trust and confidence of all his neighbors and military associates. Strong of body and mind, he was the typical Yankee and in him can be found all the strength that Daniel Webster displayed on a wider stage.

Ebenezer's first wife bore him five children; so did his second. One of the ten, the second son and fourth child, was named Daniel. He arrived in January, 1782, and was so delicate and frail that no hope of his survival was entertained. For many years, this weakness con-

tinued and in this single fact, lay Webster's opportunity, for he was too weak to be dulled and brutalized by the heavy farm labor of the time. He was allowed to play as he wished and to go to school whenever the chance came and he soon distinguished himself by displaying a remarkable memory and a passion for reading. In 1791, Ebenezer's military services and civilian probity were honored by an appointment to the bench of the local court. This gave the family some four hundred dollars a year and the noble father at once determined to devote it to his children, to give them the education he had never had.

Daniel having been enabled to distinguish himself by his freedom from heavy labor, was selected as the swan of the family and sent to Exeter Academy. The toil-bent father, as they drove through the forest to the school, unlimbered his Yankee tongue enough to shyly broach to his delicate son, his dream of the boy's going to college. Daniel, the future master of emotion, hid his face in his father's shoulder and wept for joy.

By 1797, Daniel was in Dartmouth, poorly prepared but burning with eagerness as the gates to "a larger life" swung open to his touch. The whole family seems to have resolved that Daniel should have the best whatever it meant to the rest of them in sacrifice. Once, Daniel and his older brother, Ezekiel went to a country fair. Each had a few pennies to spend. Daniel came home radiant with pleasure; the brother was rather sober. "What did you do with your money, Daniel?" the father asked. "Spent it," replied Daniel. "And what did you do with yours, Zekiel?" "Lent it to Daniel," the older brother answered.

In college, Daniel was sober, industrious and scholarly. His mates said he was as dignified as the President. Naturally, he had few intimates but many friends. In one thing he soon distinguished himself; he loved to speak. He held even the college debating classes spell-bound—and that is a mighty rare accomplishment. And, in 1800, the citizens of Hanover, Dartmouth's town, asked the lad to deliver the Fourth of July oration. He accepted with delight and made his maiden oration; it was so good that the citizens spent tax money to have it printed!

In 1801, Webster graduated and returned to his native town to read law with a neighbor who was an attorney. This was his father's wish, not Daniel's. But within a year, he gave this up to start teaching school in Fryeburg, Maine. This was a great sacrifice for Daniel; it was occasioned by his brother Ezekiel wanting a college education, too. Daniel and all the family honored the young man's ambition. The family sunk another mortgage on the farm and Daniel gave up the

law and went to work—all that his brother might have the same opportunity he had enjoyed. This is one of the most lovable acts of Webster's life. For not content with abandoning the law, Daniel spent his spare time in legal drudgery, copying deeds and the like, so that he could support himself and give all his salary as a teacher to Zeke. In Fryeburg, Webster was a very successful teacher and won the hearts of the town, including all the young ladies'. It seems it was only Daniel's ability to win the girls by the wholesale that saved him from matrimony, for among so many willing maids, he was unable to select one.

After school closed, Webster returned to Salisbury to read law again but, held down by the iron hand of poverty, struggled with himself. He wanted above everything else to "get to Boston." The Boston opportunity came within three years from Ezekiel. After three years of college, Zeke was unable to accept the continued sacrifice and he too went teaching school and earned a salary sufficient to keep himself and to give Daniel a chance to finish reading law in Boston. Thus was the idyll of brotherly love continued.

In Boston, Daniel fortunately was able to enter the office of Christopher Gore, a great man, a great lawyer and the man above all others to advance Webster's fortunes. In 1805, Webster was admitted to the Boston Bar but soon returned to New Hampshire, opening his office in Boscawen to be near his father. Soon he gathered together a very good practice and was gratified to earn his father's pleasure. In 1806, after a noble life, the father died. Daniel assumed his debts and then, in 1807, after his brother Ezekiel was in turn admitted to the bar, gave him his Boscawen practice and went himself to Portsmouth. There fortune showered gifts upon Webster. Soon, he slipped away home one week end and returned with a wife, Grace Fletcher, daughter of the minister of Hopkinton. She was a lovely woman, charming, delicate and loyal. Thus opened Webster's happiest years. A happy home, a good practice and the friendship and companionship of many successful and prominent men. However, he soon drifted into politics and, as far as his personal pleasure was concerned, was too rapidly and brilliantly successful. He ran rapidly up the ladder of local politics and was sent to Washington, where he became a leader of the New England delegation. In 1812, however, he quit the political arena because he felt it was interfering too much with his law business which had in fact become the greatest in New Hampshire. For the next five years he attended strictly to it and made both money and fame. Then, once again, Boston was calling to him and the death of his little daughter so shattered his emotional attachment

to New Hampshire that he was content to go to Boston in 1817, to settle there permanently.

Boston at first was disposed to show the outlander that while he might have been a big toad in a small puddle he was now only a tadpole in a big pond, but Webster again won his way to the top with amazing rapidity and became one of the Commonwealth's great lawyers. Few attorneys have ever enjoyed such success as was Webster's. But he was still, save for his brief flare-up in Washington, only known locally. In 1818, however, he entered the celebrated Dartmouth College case and, as this case was really of national importance, dragging in as it did national politics, Webster's magnificent logical and emotional appeal won him national acclaim and established him once and for all as a national figure. Any lawyer who is brilliant and successful before the United States Supreme Court is that—even today.

Following this case, Webster was launched as a great lawyer, and he soon had the country talking of this Bostonian with the magnificent grasp of constitutional law—the Gibbons and Ogden case, involving the right of the State of New York to grant a monopoly of steam navigation in its waters, was such a case.

In 1820 began Webster's second and great excursion into political life. That year it was necessary to hold a Massachusetts Constitutional Convention. In this work, the Bay State has always junked politics and selected the very best talent available; it is a duty of every citizen to give his services when they are needed. And so, Webster was drafted. In the convention, Webster sat with John Adams and a host of other great men but he arose above them all with his eloquence and fire and sound legal opinions. That same year, he embarked upon still another field of activity—the great public oration which was then and for many years, a characteristic of American life. In December, 1820, Plymouth celebrated the two hundredth landing of the Pilgrims and Webster was selected as the orator. With a magnificent theme, Webster did a magnificent job. The oration was printed and broadcast and everywhere received with universal applause. With it Webster became America's great occasional orator—although the speech was inferior to his later accomplishments, as at Bunker Hill five years later, for Webster's mind was still expanding and his powers not then ripened to their zenith.

This 1820 made Webster the most conspicuous man in the State. Naturally, there was a demand that he should represent the Commonwealth in Washington and in 1822 he was nominated to Congress from Boston and in 1823 took his seat. The following three years were Webster's most useful in many ways. Elected without any difficulty

at each election, happy in his home life, he was free to give himself to the needs of the Commonwealth and the nation. He was regarded as the best speaker in the House and as an outstanding practical legislator as well as a man who was utterly free from party or sectional limitations. This success was crowned by the Massachusetts General Court, which elected him a Senator in June 1827.

He had hardly taken his seat when a great blow fell upon him. He was called to New York early in January 1828 to the bedside of his wife. She had been taken ill while on her way to join him in Washington. On the 21st, she died. He was frightfully broken. Those who watched him follow his wife's body to the grave through the dismal winter rain and gloom, leading his children by the hand, believed him crushed beyond recovery. But, as so many other unfortunate men have done, he found comfort in work. Soon he was again his old robust self but his intimates have reported that the loss of his wife was forever over him like a cloud and he never forgot her.

Of his long years as senator, as secretary of state, and as senator again, the history of the United States has volumes to relate. They are not properly the history of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Every schoolboy knows his principal speeches; every student knows his work for the preservation of the Union and his work in developing and fostering American prestige abroad. It is perhaps sufficient to say that his personal happiness decreased in direct proportion to his political prestige and power until the last two years of his life, when both went down to the depths together. It is unfortunate that the clouds of the last few months should overshadow so many years of bright sunshine. Yet students commonly make much of his misfortunes at the end. It was a great blow to him to lose the presidency, particularly when he was confident that it was within his grasp. But that failure need not detract so heavily from his life as writers seem to think it should. Doubtless he was disappointed but so have many other men been cheated of their fondest hopes. And Webster was still a great man with a life-time crowded with brilliant achievement behind him. For thirty full years he had stood at the head of two activities; he was for that long America's greatest lawyer, and America's greatest Senator. No other man has enjoyed such a dual distinction and a well proportioned view of Webster's life must sink the fierce disputes and sorry disappointments of the final two years down into little importance beside all the rest. What if Webster did practically close his lips with the Biblical "Vanity, vanity, all is vanity"? Many another smaller man—and greater, too—has found the end of life less sweet than the beginning.

As Secretary of State, Webster closed his career. The extreme labors of his office served to further weaken his weary body. His spirits became ever less elastic and his face became lined with a deepening sadness. In May 1852, while driving his horses at his farm in Marshfield, he was thrown from his carriage violently. The shock was great, although no bones were broken, and, doubtless, the organic disease which was developing, was accelerated. Then came the defeat of his Presidential aspirations in the early summer. He wanted to resign but Fillmore insisted that he remain in office. In July he went to Boston and was given a rousing reception which, for the time, bolstered his health. In August he returned to Washington but in early September he returned to his Marshfield farm, a very sick man. Friends were shocked at his decline; his face was a mask of sternly repressed suffering. His nights were sleepless; his days were beyond comfort. As October came, it was apparent that the end was near. He knew it. On the night of the 23rd he awoke at midnight and exclaimed, as if in wonder, "I still live!" But he was not to live for long. Three hours later he was gone. The funeral, as he wished, was very simple. The day, the 29th, had a glorious Indian summer afternoon; the sun warm but the breeze edged with frost, the hills covered with amethyst haze and the maples scarlet and gold. Out on the lawn, on a mound of flowers, Webster was laid for thousands to pay their last respects. Then, after a brief religious service in the house, a group of farmers, his real neighbors, lifted the casket to their shoulders, carried it down to the road to the little village graveyard and put him to rest beside his wife and children, put him to rest to the sound of the sea waves eternally sweeping the shore.

CHAPTER LI

Calvin Coolidge

Although born in Plymouth, Vt., July 4, 1872, Calvin Coolidge, is generally considered to be a Massachusetts man. Certainly, like many a Vermonter, some one of whom said that "Vermont is the finest State in the Union to hail from, and I hailed from there as soon as I could," the future president of the United States identified himself with Massachusetts while still a boy and passed his life as a lawyer and as a politician within the Commonwealth, until fortune took him onto the national stage.

Plymouth, Vt., not half as large now as it was in 1872, is among the smallest towns that ever produced a President. Among the beautiful Green Mountains and from the niggardly soil, Coolidges for some hundred years, four generations of them, in fact, managed somehow to make a living before John Calvin was born.

The President's father, a "strong, silent man" of the typical hill-farm Yankee tradition, was a person of importance in the tiny community. He farmed his acres, winning out against what is nearly the stubbornest environment in America; financial and social conditions in which only the stoutest characters can survive. The father ran the annual town meeting of the town as moderator and exhibited qualities of leadership which seated him in both the Vermont House and Vermont Senate.

When John Calvin was twelve, his mother died and the father quietly took over the business of bringing up the boy in the way all the Coolidges had gone. The environment necessitated toil and thrift; family and neighborhood traditions, with equal necessity, inculcated "simple living and straight thinking." Hardly a boyhood which would be expected to lead a man from a hill farm to the White House, if it did entail self-control and self-reliance to the utmost degree.

When John Calvin went from the hills to the softer regions of Amherst College, it was too late for any major transformation to be effected in the boy and he went through his four years with a very remarkable exhibition of the economy in words and emotions that came to be his distinguishing characteristic in public life. As an example

of the danger of this "strong, silent" attitude, Coolidge was not selected by his classmates at graduation as the class member who would become the most distinguished. He was elected to deliver a class oration; that was the only recognition given to the youth—although, after he became famous, multitudes of anecdotes were suddenly remembered and retold by classmates.

From Amherst, Coolidge went down river to the city of Northampton where, after "reading law in a local lawyer's office" he became a member of the Massachusetts Bar and embarked upon a career which, in itself was not in the slightest degree more promising than that of several thousand contemporary lawyers. However, as he once remarked when rallied about his silence and reserve, "I have generally made enough noise to get what I wanted," he did make noise enough to win the girl who became his wife, Grace Goodhue. Spontaneous and vivacious, Mrs. Coolidge was as simple-hearted and as honest-minded as he was and they set up housekeeping in Northampton in characteristic fashion—in half of a two-family frame dwelling on a side street, for which they paid a rent of thirty three dollars a month. This half house they retained until the United States provided the White House for their roof-tree. And they managed to get along without owning an auto.

For some reason, perhaps to help his growing law practice, perhaps through a genuine desire to be of service to his fellow citizens, the young attorney decided to enter politics. He knew nothing about the science of persuading one's fellows to put one into public office, but he was willing to learn and he characteristically started in at the very beginning, ringing door-bells in a house to house canvass.

Once started, to the amazement of the Northampton politicians nothing could stop the man's progress. In 1900-1901 he served as a councilman in the Northampton City Council. In 1905 he was City Solicitor of Northampton. In 1907-1908, he went to the Massachusetts House of Representatives. In 1910-1911 he was Mayor of Northampton. From 1912-1915 he was a State Senator, serving as president in 1915-1916. In 1916-18 to the amazement of Boston politicians, who were dimly aware that somebody had not only come out of the west but had arrived, he was elected lieutenant governor. Of course, said everyone, he rode in on the coat-tails of the Governor but they could not say this in 1919 when the amateur politician from Vermont, via Northampton, calmly seated himself in the Governor's chair and took a modest suite at a now demolished small down-town Boston Hotel, the Adams House, as a place to hang his hat when away from home.

This was indeed a Sphinx which sat on Beacon Hill. His amazing

political record was spread broadcast; no one understood how the man had ever managed to go from one success to another. True, he had been defeated once; he lost a campaign for school committee, that was when he cut his political wisdom teeth. Asked for the secret of his success, he disclaimed any idea of his tactics but he did characteristically remark that he went about winning an election by always preparing himself to be defeated.

The psychology of that energetic philosophy was utterly lost upon the leaders of the State Republican Party and they honestly assumed that Coolidge had gone just as far as he ever would and cast about among themselves for a new governor to take the Northamptonite's place.

But Fate or Luck, or whatever label is selected for the destiny that seems to shape the ends of politicians, at least, was not through with Coolidge. Right into his lap, in 1919, fell the Boston Police strike. The Boston Police force, almost to a man, laid down their nightsticks, unloaded their revolvers and said, "We strike!"

Since a police strike was an unheard of business, naturally the eyes of America were focused upon Boston. It was the opportunity of a century for a strong man to publicize himself. Just how Coolidge acted is still a matter of dispute among politicians and reporters who watched those hectic few days, when gangs smashed store windows and the historic Common was host to a gigantic game of dice, popularly known by a succinct if vulgar name. Some are disposed to criticize the Governor and to tag him as a scheming opportunist. Others would pin medals upon him for honorable and courageous action in a crisis. As the writer knew Coolidge personally and, unfortunately, was not in sympathy with him, the problem may not be judged here. However, putting aside what Coolidge did or did not do, there can be no doubt that what he said made him President. He remarked, as he called out the militia to preserve "law and order," that "... there is no right to strike against the public safety by anybody, anywhere, anytime."

This bold attitude won him the glory of the strike, gave him a triumphant re-election as Governor and put his name into nomination for the presidency on the Republican ticket the following year.

But no one, again characteristically, took the candidacy seriously. In matters Federal, New England, and Boston in particular, has long nursed an inferiority complex. New England is the step-child of Washington and it was considered impossible for Coolidge to have the ghost of a chance. He even withdrew his name, but it was presented just the same by friends.

For campaigning, Coolidge edited a collection of his speeches which

were published and distributed by friends (in whom Coolidge was always fortunate) under the title of *Have Faith in Massachusetts*. It was a distillation of Yankee "Wisdom." Such statements as "The people who elect a man to get what he can for his district, will probably find that they have elected a man who will get what he can for himself," established Coolidge in the minds of Americans as a shrewd Yankee, a man who "kept his mouth shut and did things others talked about."

As was expected, when the Republican convention met, Coolidge was not seriously considered for the Presidential nomination nor even for that of vice-president. A man belonging to the inner circles of the national organization was picked out in "a back room" and the convention was about to pass favorably in a routine way when a delegate from far away Oregon shouted "Coolidge for vice-president." Immediately, the memory of the Boston Police strike and of *Have Faith in Massachusetts* stampeded the hall and with enthusiastic acclaim, which must have astonished Coolidge fully as much as it did the party leaders, he found himself paired with Harding for a campaign which was as good as settled as soon as the nominations were made.

Once elected and in Washington, Coolidge sank into the inevitable oblivion which claims all our vice-presidents. Just one thing kept Coolidge alive politically. For the first time, President Harding made the vice-president a member of the official family and thus, when Luck played her counters and put Coolidge into the White House, all that he had to do was to shift himself from a side chair at the Cabinet meetings to the head of the table.

Even so, outside of Washington, few remembered who the vice-president was. He came, the fateful summer of 1923, to spend a quiet vacation on the ancestral farm in Plymouth. So inconspicuous was he that not a single New York or Boston paper bothered to send reporters and photographers up into the Green Mountains to cover any possible news break. President Harding was ill on his Western trip, sure enough, but he was recovering, so why bother with Coolidge?

But, the night of the third of August, while Coolidge slept, after pitching hay, Harding died three thousand miles away and made the Northamptonite President. There was no telephone anywhere near the Coolidge homestead and the nearest railroad was miles away. News was making, however, and through the night, from Boston and New York, fast autos roared up into the mountains carrying reporters and photographers, all too late for the greatest news beat of many years.

If only a photographer, let alone a reporter, had been on the spot, his lens would have caught one of the most dramatic episodes in the lives of all Presidents. For, following communication with Washing-

ton, then and there Coolidge took the oath of office that made him actually President. Father Coolidge, by virtue of his office as notary public, stood with his son in the lamp-lighted parlor of the old homestead at 3 o'clock in the morning, and administered the oath which gives one man authority over 130,000,000 Americans. How different that Spartan ceremony from the pomp and circumstance with which most presidents have repeated the sacred oath on the steps of the Capitol in Washington. In place of the revered justice of the United States Supreme Court was a toil-worn Yankee father-farmer. In place of massed regiments of the Army and hosts of milling citizens, were the trees of the forested hills. And instead of the radio picking up every sound and transporting it instantly around the world, was the silence of a lonely farm house isolated in a remote valley in the very northeastern corner of the United States. Father and son, a handful of witnesses—what inaugural has been more dramatic, ever?

In the morning, before the sun had managed to climb over the mountains and look down into the narrow valley of Plymouth, the reporters and photographers arrived and the story went out as Coolidge, after standing beside his mother's grave, turned and went down and away to Washington.

In Washington, as in Boston, the politicians were not inclined to take Coolidge seriously. He entered the White House on August 13th while the party leaders were already busy wondering who they could pick for the Republican Presidential nomination the next campaign. That Coolidge might succeed himself was absurd, they thought. Coolidge was just an accident, to be quietly eased out of the picture. They were not much to blame in this opinion. Roosevelt, of Big Stick fame, had, it is true, broken the rule that vice-presidents are not re-elected if they happen to succeed to the presidency, but Coolidge was not a Teddy. In proportion to his elevation in office, his silence grew. He was stiff, dour and difficult.

But the politicians were wrong. The Coolidge Luck was still running strong. Coolidge, the New Englander, the hill-farmer, the Yankee politician, the strong man of the Boston Police strike, became not a warm personality but a legend. Plymouth became a Mecca for tourists, the drama of the father-and-son-lamp-light inauguration had again won for Coolidge what academic distinction, political experience and publicity skill could never in the world have given him.

And there was yet a deeper current of fortune which caught Coolidge up and carried him along. Harding had been too easy-going and when the scandals broke in the winter after his death, this happy-go-lucky philosopher plunged the Republican Party machine out of

favor. But did the tar brush smut Coolidge? Not at all. He was only a vice-president at the time, a mere nobody. But he was distinguished for sober solidity, he was a hereditary conservative, a man who could be trusted. Or so America believed—and the Coolidge myth grew and grew to such proportions that Coolidge had but to say such simple and meaningless things as "The business of America is business" to win votes by the thousand.

Finally, there was still another great slice of luck handed to Coolidge. The radio was new and people in those days still listened to it. Accordingly, when the Democratic convention was put on the air, everyone tuned in and when the meeting degenerated into that glorious circus of sectarian bigotry and partisan slander, America at first listened in horror and then laughed. What chance did a Democrat have after that?

Nothing could stop Coolidge, nor did anyone try. He carried the North in great blocks of States and even broke down into the solid South.

But if Coolidge was an idol, the Republican party was not his admirer at all and his administration was marked by constant bickering between the White House and the Capitol. In one business after another Congress flouted the man and while he still retained the respect of the nation, it was the respect given to a man not to the leader of a political party or even that given to a President. Everyone shared with him the grief that must have been his in the death of his son but the political wrangling still continued.

When the next Presidential year came around again, political leaders held their breath wondering what Coolidge would do. There was no doubt of his personal popularity, despite his inept administration. Would he run again? Did he want to run once more? That question may be answered when the biographer laboring among his papers publishes the life and letters. At present it is not determined. With characteristic brevity, he caused the country to wonder what his eventual statement, "I do not choose to run," meant. Probably it meant just what it said, but Coolidge was a Sphinx and it was not until a Republican candidate was actually nominated that the people and the politicians were convinced that in fact Coolidge did not choose to run.

Instead he went back home to Northampton and started to renew his legal practice only to drop dead one morning as quietly and as unexpectedly as he had accomplished all other details of his life.

Whatever may be present opinions of Coolidge, at least he is admired by all as a man, a self-reliant, simple, dignified personality not afraid to be himself, whether a small town lawyer or a President of the United States.

CHAPTER LII

The Saga of the Merchant Marine

For the first two hundred and fifty years of her history, the heart of Massachusetts beat with the pulse of the sea. The winds of the world were her breath of life. From the very beginning, until the Civil War submerged the maritime life of the State beneath that of the Nation, the Commonwealth lived by, for, and upon Blue Water.

With but brief interludes, mostly war, and the Embargo, it was, until the very end, a fairly even development of prosperity. Wealth literally flowed into Massachusetts in a never-failing stream; wealth which, at first nourishing and sustaining one of the world's most remarkable experiments in colonization, self-government, and freedom, later bore as fruit, a galaxy of statesmen, philosophers, poets, and industrialists the like of which found its peer only in the Golden Age of Athens.

It is amazing that this should have happened, because Massachusetts was, is, and probably always will be, handicapped by Nature.

A glance at the map will display the geographical handicap. The State is trapped between the hungry mouths of two great rivers. To the north, the St. Lawrence opens up a broad highway fairly into the heart of the continent, concentrating for the fortunate cities upon its banks the wealth of an infinity of fertile farmlands, bountiful forests, and mountains veined with minerals. To the south, the Hudson floods all the opulence of Eastern America and the Middle West, freighting it safely alongside the very mountain wall which bars New England from the West and confines her to her limited area.

The weather is another handicap. Instead of the gracious skies of other sections, the waters off our shores are notorious for adding the hazard of "dirty weather" to the perils of shoals and reefs. Fogs, gales, snow, and easterly storms all unite to make navigation difficult, a difficulty which, in the days of sail and dead reckoning, was very grave.

And yet another handicap exists—the most serious one of all. Compared with the fertile soil and the teeming natural wealth of other

States, Massachusetts is poverty stricken. We are practically without natural resources; we found nothing here which the rest of the world wanted or would exchange for what we needed. This meant that our ships had no resources to draw upon for outward bound cargoes, none of the coal or iron or the thousand and one things which comprise the life-blood of commerce. And ships which sail out empty cannot pay dividends.

Thus it is apparent that Nature intended Massachusetts to be insignificant—probably never more than just a string of fishing villages, nestled beside the headlands of the shore, and backed by starving farms, crouched among the hills wherever enough arable land could be discovered with which to cover a few seeds.

As a field for colonization, as a new home land, this State was certainly not attractive and it is only due to the poor navigation of the skipper of the *Mayflower* and the inability of his ship to weather the “dangerous shoals and roaring breakers” which were discovered to the southward that forced the Pilgrims to “bear up for the Cape” and landed them at Provincetown and Plymouth instead of the Hudson River where they had intended to settle.

That chance was thus responsible for the founding of Plymouth is well known but it is much less appreciated that the poverty of Massachusetts nearly starved her settlers and forced them to make heroic measures for the sake of bare survival.

However, once established, the Colony began to flourish because, born of adversity and necessity, the Yankee spirit shortly began, with characteristic determination and ingenuity, to make the best of the bargain. No sterile soil, no geographical limitation, no hostile weather could deny them. Every liability was turned to an asset; even the granite of the grim hills and the ice of the frozen ponds were translated into gold.

The means of the accomplishment of this was the sea. Once the maximum of agricultural development was attained, a development adequate for sustenance, the citizens turned from chopping down trees and grubbing out rocks to the gracious arms of the sea.

Despite the sentimental nonsense which has been gushed out about ships and sailors, the ocean knows no kindness. It is a hard, monotonous, bitter life, that of the mariner, but for men who can withstand misfortune, men who are intelligent enough to outwit peril, men who have character and determination to persist and conquer, the ocean does provide a rich reward. For the Yankee, inured to toil from dawn to dark, and to the dullness of wilderness farms, with his wits sharpened to razor edge by conquering a stubborn soil, and his courage tempered

by constant hardship and frequent failure, the ocean was not as stern a step-mother as she is to softer folk.

Thus it was to be expected that the poverty of the land would be compensated for by the abundance of the sea. Yet it could only be through unexampled expenditure of labor and skill and heroism that Massachusetts could forge ahead. Forge ahead she did, and the story is a saga of adventure as thrilling as any ever told.

It is necessary only to contrast the beginnings of Massachusetts' maritime career with its final accomplishments to appreciate this remarkable part of our history as a State. The colonists did not even start from scratch. To begin with, they were not sea-faring folk. The English ships were officered by family and privilege, and in New England there were but few families of sufficient rank to have entailed traditions of navigation, seamanship, or even adventure. And more, the colonists were commonly deeply in debt and were heartlessly exploited by the money-lenders who financed their transportation from the old world to the new.

Thus, not only were there the cancerous debts to be paid off, but the men of Massachusetts had to learn to build ships, to sail them, to create goods for trade, and finally, to make a profit.

In a very few years, all this was learned and applied and then excelled. Massachusetts built ships that first triumphed over the world for earning power, and then led all creation in speed, sea-worthiness, and sheer beauty. Massachusetts created products out of natural resources as poor as any, and then began to out-trade nations that had always enjoyed monopolies and could only express astonishment when ships from Boston and Salem appeared out of nowhere and snatched their markets away. And finally, Massachusetts learned not only to out-smart the world, until a Yankee everywhere was dreaded by competitors as an uncommonly clever fellow, but the State learned to fight ships so well that it eventually humbled the pride of Great Britain.

From indebtedness to fabulous wealth, from rocky fields and ice-bound streams to culture and grace and beauty, that is the result of the merchant marine and the story of it all is one of pride.

THE FIRST CENTURY AND A HALF

1600-1750

Whether the "Vineland" of the Norsemen was New England or some other section of the North Atlantic Coast will probably never be determined. But we may be tolerably certain that the shores of Massachusetts were visited by French, Norman, and even English fishermen

long before any recorded explorations were made. In fact, generations before the *Mayflower* sailed, in any port of western Europe pilots could be hired who knew the coast from Newfoundland down to Cape Cod as well as they knew their own home shore.

Bartholomew Gosnold was but following the unsung fishermen when in 1602 he visited the islands south of Cape Cod. Champlain, in 1604, looked into Boston Bay, made a reasonably good chart of Gloucester Harbor and found he preferred the St. Lawrence nevertheless.

To John Smith, however, the credit for mapping the New England Coast and starting its colonization really belongs. In 1614 he established a fish-drying "factory" on Monhegan and exported ship-loads of dried cod to Spain as well as back to England. He found it profitable and, through his little travel-essay, caused numbers of English fishermen to resort to the teeming waters of New England.

Finally, through his efforts, the "Dorchester Adventurers" built a settlement at Gloucester in 1623, at the site of present Stage Fort Park, and were building a church, school, and ship-yard when their financial backers in England failed. However, these promoters shortly reorganized as the "Massachusetts Bay Company" and obtained title to all the land between the Merrimack and the Charles Rivers, from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

Meanwhile, the Pilgrim Fathers founded Plymouth in 1620 but their choice of settlement was unfortunate and they, lacking a good harbor, never accomplished very much, until in 1630, the Massachusetts Bay Company founded Boston.

The Winthrops, Dudleys, Endicotts, and Saltonstalls did not come to Boston with sea-faring intentions. They planned to establish great estates on which, as English squires, they would direct hired labor. New England was too much for them and inside of ten years, agricultural projects began to fail. As long as new immigration provided a market for food, the first arrivals could profitably raise corn and cattle. But soon there was more food than could be eaten and stark necessity turned would-be farmers into mariners.

Examples and materials were at hand. The chain of small settlements which began to grow along the coast were ALL fishing towns—Ipswich, Scituate and Marblehead are examples; they were peopled by "folk who came to fish, not to enjoy religious freedom." In fact, it was only Boston and Plymouth that were originally religious.

But fishing itself would not long support the colonies. Governor Winthrop in 1641 wrote, when the first depression in America reduced corn to no price at all and livestock from five to ten percent of former

values, "These straits set our people at work to provide fish, clapboards, plank, etc. . . . and to look out to the West Indies for a trade."

With these words, Massachusetts' maritime history began. The Colonists began to look for a trade. They could produce lumber, meat, and fish. Where could they sell them? England had plenty of its own or obtained them cheaply from northern Europe. To the south, however, were the West Indies. They could use all the lumber, meat, and fish New England could produce and in exchange could give molasses and sugar, articles which Massachusetts not only needed itself but could also reship to England at a profit with which to purchase manufactured things, such as cloth and books and iron, which were needed at home. So commerce began and in its train came abundant employment and prosperity—for ships to carry on the trade must not only be manned but also built and furnished and supplied. And so Massachusetts discovered very early that it was not in production but in distribution of the production of other lands that her opportunity for profits lay.

The first ship built was Governor Winthrop's own *Blessing of the Bay*, launched from ways on the Mystic River in Medford in 1631. So great was the demand for ships that it shortly became the leading industry all along shore. Not only Boston, but Salem, Gloucester, Newbury, and Ipswich built ships and then more ships.

The ships of these times were not at all what the 1800's meant by ships. Even into Revolution days, they were very small. Most were single-decked sloops or ketches no larger than pleasure yachts of the present. They were usually under 50 feet in length and but 25 tons or so in capacity, the ton equalling 40 cubic feet. Larger ships were built, though; the *Seaforth*, built in Boston about 1648, was a 400 ton vessel and, while Massachusetts mariners courageously preferred small ships, in which their children today would be frightened to venture out of a harbor, the Bay Colony shipwrights regularly built what were good sized ships for sale in the European market. These ships had a good reputation for sound materials and honest workmanship and found a ready sale.

Massachusetts also built ships for the other colonies and by 1650 the rapidly growing trade of New York, Philadelphia, and other colonies was largely carried in Bay Colony bottoms.

If the ships were small and, by our standards today, rather hazardous to navigate, there is no fault to find with the men who manned them. Even from the beginning, navigation and trade attracted the very best blood. The calling was stamped with social approval. The clergy ranked highest in the scale, and next the gentry,

followed successively by ship-owners and merchants (usually identical personages), and then merchant officers. As for the men before the mast, in place of the regrettable low type of the present, in those days the call of the sea sounded loudest in the ears of the very best. Only boys intended for the ministry or the law went to Harvard; all other boys who had an ounce of spirit in them went to sea.

Not only did the sea offer a road to fortune and position for ambitious lads, but it was an ever-present way of escape. No boy contemplates with equanimity a life of grubbing up stones and chopping corn, and from the farm it was only a step to the fo'castle which, in turn, was only a voyage or two removed from the quarter deck, power, fortune, and glory.

The same spirit of independence as filled the fore-castle animated the after-guard and scant regard was paid by captains in their voyaging and trading to English or foreign law aimed at controlling commerce. Even ship-owners, however they may have been forced to dissemble at home, experienced the same wild spirit; they had but one thought, profit; owner, officer, seaman, cabin-boy, they all "kept their eyes peeled for the main chance" or, as one envious English merchant wrote ". . . they trye all ports to force a trade . . . it is their great care to keep their ships in constant employ . . . whereby they abound with all sorts of commodities. . . ." Persistent enterprise—that was the Massachusetts' mariner's watchword and the resulting profit was tremendous.

For a half century prosperity grew greater year by year and, although in 1691, with war, Indian raids, pestilence, and other troubles, the Crown tightened its control of shipping, progress was but slightly halted. And then, in 1713, when the Peace of Utrecht threw open great new fields of possibilities to Massachusetts merchants, a great broadening out of all manner of trade followed swiftly. Rum replaced cider and beer as a beverage and the French West Indies provided so much molasses that some 60 Massachusetts distilleries ran constantly to meet the demand, both domestic and foreign. The West Indies, Spain and South America absorbed ship loads of New England fish and salt meat, and dyewoods and mahogany from Central America sold readily in Europe. Slaving, too, developed, but Boston and Salem, despite the slander to the contrary, never profited by it as much as did Newport and other Colonial ports to the southward.

And pace to pace with commerce, ship-building thrived lustily. So much so, in fact, that London ship-wrights petitioned the King not to encourage ship building in New England because many workmen were being attracted away from English yards. A lighthouse was

built at the entrance to Boston harbor, the first in America, and marine insurance companies found opportunity to organize and prosper. Whaling began and the fishing fleet prospered mightily.

Piracy was rife in the Spanish Main and possibly Massachusetts captains and crews did find "free trade" profitable as a side line although none of them were convicted of the practice at first. Letters-of-marque ships found plenty of opportunity, however, for legal fighting and in 1748 one of them, the *Bethel* of Boston with but 14 guns and 40 men and boys captured a Spanish treasure ship armed with 24 guns and boasting 100 men. This engagement profited the *Bethel* "the better part of \$500,000." This was but one of many episodes, and shortly before the Revolution, when no wars were handy, the privateers neglected their earlier caution and managed to be detected in their "free trading." Eventually some of them were hanged for piracy and their bodies hung in chains on Nix's mate, now a shoal near Boston Light, but then a small island. Curiously enough, it is alleged that one pirate, described as Nix's mate, claimed he was innocent of the crime for which he was executed and called upon heaven to sink the island under the waves as proof of his claim. The island has vanished but, since it was washed away by storms, and does not owe its disappearance to subsidence, it is still a question as to whether Nix's mate was guilty or not.

The most important contribution of commerce to pre-Revolutionary Massachusetts was the building up of a wealthy aristocracy who were, as described by an author, "tough but nervous, tenacious but restless, materially ambitious but torn with a passion for righteousness . . . law abiding yet individualistic and impatient of restraint by government or regulation in business." These wealthy merchants were powerful; they controlled public opinion with an iron hand, and when once they were convinced their interests, material and spiritual, were being contravened by the Crown, they found the road to rebellion easy to follow.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE REVOLUTION

1750-1785

Massachusetts has always been profoundly affected by the major wars in which it has been concerned. This is particularly true of her merchant marine. If the Civil War wiped the marine out of existence, if the War of 1812 was considered a very unpleasant and disastrous business (which it was), in the Revolution the ships and sailors of the State found their great opportunity.

In fact, Massachusetts was to a very large degree responsible for the Revolution: the primary reason being that the Crown became

inimical to the Province's maritime prosperity. Until the beginning of the second half of the century, the Crown did not enforce the marine laws energetically. But soon after 1760, the Crown changed its point of view, giving heed to the loud clamor of English interests which alleged that Massachusetts was flouting all the Acts of Trade which had been created for the "better ordering of trade and navigation"—and also, for the benefit of the English merchants. The Colony *would* trade with England's rivals, even her enemies; there was money in it and as "free trade," what was the harm? But the ministers of George the Third asserted that this "free trade" was nothing but smuggling and they were against it. Accordingly, the Crown set about making the laws something more than black marks on paper. This was serious, and as their policy became increasingly firmer, the merchants began to suffer in their pocket-books.

Had the agents of the Crown been astute, they would have combined their firmness with tact, and there might not have been a Revolution at all. Unfortunately, they chose to ride rough-shod over the Colony, unmindful that 3,000 miles of wet and stormy space lay between them and their source of power. Their acts, which even today appear unnecessarily rough, were downright tyranny to those in the Colony who were looking for fuel to arouse popular opinion; and thus the forces which led to Revolution were created, nursed and finally detonated by merchants who found their dividends shrinking and thought they would have a better chance to regain them if they could, by raising vigorous opposition to the venal and incompetent representatives of the Crown, have the Crown act more generously with the Colony.

Undoubtedly, at first there was no thought of Revolution. Letters written by the merchants indicate that they were engaged in what today would be mere propaganda intended to bring about a "new deal." But, as time went on, and the Crown became not more lenient but more determined, the Yankee spirit of independence overcame Yankee conservatism and dislike of turmoil. Patriots like Adams and Otis and Warren arose, who, moved by high ideals which even the English Parliament of the hour respected, aroused the middle class of the Colony to the necessity of rebellion. The lower class, of course, having then, as now, nothing to lose, was ready at a word to flout the Crown's representatives openly instead of covertly as before. With the awakening of the great middle class, the situation by 1770 became serious. But it would still have come to nothing, just as until the very last minute, the tension could have been eased by a little tact on the part of the Crown, had not the merchants decided to finance a Revolution.

Any war, be it a rebellion or a revolution, must have money, and this was provided by the wealthy ship-owners and traders of Eastern Massachusetts—such as John Hancock, Richard Derby, and Josiah Quincy.

It was not a popular move for these merchants to make. Most of their class were alarmed at the beginnings of armed rebellion in 1775, they feared mob violence and they preferred to remain loyal to the Crown for the sake of law and order—and the secure possession of the wealth they had gathered.

But, unquestionably motivated, at least in part, by the idealism of patriots like Adams, enough of the leading merchants threw both their persons and their property into the hazard and so made possible the Revolution and the founding of the United States. It must not be overlooked that they were patriots, patriots who risked vastly more than a rope about their necks. But it must also not be forgotten that, as merchants, their prosperity was threatened. So, they dared—and conquered, saving not only their property but both immediately and ultimately vastly increasing it.

The valor and attainments of the ships and men of Massachusetts in the prosecution of the war is a story in itself but it has nothing to do with the merchant marine. The merchant ships, however did play a great part in winning the War by privateering activities. Even if the English considered the transformation of merchant ships into privateers nothing but legalized piracy, the fact remains that it was one of the factors which determined the outcome of the conflict. The General Court of Massachusetts issued more than one thousand privateering commissions and the Continental Congress issued another six hundred-odd to Massachusetts vessels alone. These, burning with the vast opportunity for profit, stung John Bull most successfully, supplying Washington with arms, powder, food, and clothing at the expense of the English taxpayer as well as harrying British commerce and even raiding the sacrosanct soil of England itself.

Indubitably, it was a great war for Massachusetts ship-owners and sailors while it lasted. Profits that passed the fondest expectations were realized and fortunes that exist today were founded by actual combatants who sailed the tiny Colonial ships and outfought and outwitted the larger, slower, and richly laden English ships.

But, as far as the Massachusetts merchant marine is concerned, the greatest value in the war lay in awakening the whole Colony to the opportunities that blue water held. For example, Salem prior to the Revolution was just another fishing village. A generation or two after, so many ships carried the name Salem into so many ports of

the world that the name, with that of Boston was better known than that of any other American town.

To the sailors, fishermen and merchantmen alike, privateering taught seamanship, and built up a great marine tradition. As mere colonials, the men of the Bay Colony had suffered from an inferiority complex, although that name was not invented in those days. But, when they found that they could outfight, outnavigate, and outwit their former superiors, the Englishmen, they exchanged their old complex for a sturdy extroversion which, while it did not tend to improve social relations with Britain, did enable the Massachusetts sailors to sail the seas thereafter as lords and masters and not as the apprentices they had been before.

To ship-builders, privateering taught new methods and new types of construction. Speed was the condition of successful operation in war and it had demonstrable advantages in prosaic trade. Accordingly, the Bay State ship yards shortly forsook the high castle-like quarter-decks, discovered what is termed stream-lining today and began the refinement of design which was to culminate in the clippers, the fastest sailing ships the world has ever known.

Privateering also taught the merchants, who were the ship owners, confidence in themselves, their ships, and their men, a confidence which proved to be the only salvation the State's merchant marine possessed when the dark days of the Confederacy followed the victory at Yorktown.

Those years following peace were the darkest Massachusetts has ever known, the worst depression in her history. England naturally slammed shut every door she could in the faces of the Americans and thus the West Indies, Massachusetts' best market, were lost. Britain itself would have no more Yankee goods and France and Spain likewise turned away. Consequently foreign trade ceased.

The coasting trade languished likewise, for Massachusetts had bought her imports with transshipped West Indian goods and thus had nothing to send to the other Colonies.

Shipbuilding ceased altogether. With ships already built rotting at anchor and no market in Europe for new bottoms, why build? Before the War, Massachusetts launched more than a hundred vessels annually. After the peace, less than twenty were built each year.

Eventually, the tide turned. By 1790 the West Indies were again receiving Yankee ships and by various tricks, such as acquiring Canadian registration or even Danish colors, closed ports were visited. But the development which ultimately spelled victory over depression, the development which opened the road to magnificent prosperity was the

adventuring of Yankee ships into the Pacific. With this passing of Cape Horn and Cape of Good Hope begins the Golden Age of the Massachusetts Merchant Marine.

THE GLORY OF SALEM

1790-1845

In 1494, the Pope of Rome drew a line from pole to pole, dividing the New World between Spain and Portugal, a line approximating the now 50th degree of longitude west from Greenwich. Everything east of this line belonged to Portugal; everything west to Spain.

About 1800, Salem and Boston likewise informally divided the world of the Pacific between themselves. This line began on the coast of China, near Canton, ran south and east across the ocean to the equator off the coast of South America. All the territory north and east was Boston's for exploitation; all to the south and west was Salem's. There was no Pope to give authority to this tacit division. But the two cities respected their respective claims and each other, often sailed out and home together, and left no room at all in which other American cities might develop.

Salem was but a small town in 1790 when she started out. She had but ten thousand souls, including the neighboring city of Beverly, and but two thousand dwellings, mostly ancient structures, a few of which still stand today, gloomy, gabled, small-windowed—altogether homes from which the men folk must have been delighted to escape.

Perhaps because she was so insignificant in her beginnings and because the magnificence she attained was so great by contrast, Salem gloried in her accomplishment. Boston, which never was passed by Salem in any particular of importance, placidly went its way, content to count its profits and accept its good fortune as its natural and expected right. Salem, however, made the most of its success. Societies, institutions, and museums were founded and endowed. Every merchant required his captains to keep records and to bring home specimens of all the exotic human, plant, animal, and mineral life of the East, not only for the accumulation of information which would lead to better profits but also to educate and demonstrate to the rest of the world Salem's prowess. Thus, today, Salem has a splendid collection of materials and information. Consequently, such is the power of publicity, the whole world knows of the glory of Salem. However, for the historian, this is a delightful situation, for even today he can read as complete and detailed records of every voyage as the respective owners scanned when they hailed their returning

captains and eagerly watched the unloading of the precious spoils of the Orient.

The first Salem vessel to venture to the Far East was the *Grand Turk*, Captain Ebenezer West. She arrived at Canton in 1784 in the wake of the *Empress of China*, of New York. The *Grand Turk* arrived back in Salem in May 1787 with silks, tea, and china. Not merely did she yield fabulous returns on her cost but, what is of the greatest importance, she awoke the appetite of every Salem merchant for similar profits and of every Salem housewife for tea and china and silk.

The road was opened, the market stimulated and profits immense enough to make profitable the long, tedious, and hazardous voyage across half of the world and back in ships no bigger than modern yachts.

The difficulty with the China trade lay in finding cargoes to take there which would cause the Chinese to exchange them for their tea and silk. Boston solved it by way of the North-West Coast furs; Salem went about it in a very different manner.

Salem collected miscellaneous cargoes, loadings which often took months to assemble. These, which were of no interest to China, they first traded at other ports for merchandise which the Chinese wanted, or else for money with which they could purchase silk and tea outright when they finally reached China. Here is a sample venture undertaken by Elias Derby. He sent out four vessels, the *Astrea* carried a mixed lading which was taken direct to Canton. The brig, *Three Sisters*, also with a mixed cargo, went to Batavia where the lading was sold. Then, under charter to a Dutch merchant, she proceeded to Canton. The two barks *Atlantic* and *White Horse* carried provisions to Mauritius which were sold. At Bombay and Calcutta, these little vessels bought good assortments of trade goods which were also taken to Canton. There the two barks were sold and the proceeds from the two, together with the proceeds from the cargoes of the four, were invested in silk, china, and tea which, loaded into the *Astrea* and the *Three Sisters*, were carried back to Salem to the enrichment of Master Derby, his four captains, and all their men.

This venture started the China trade off in sober earnest. Ship after ship was built and merchant after merchant embarked in the undertakings. Loadings of pottery, ale, flour, furniture, soap, rum, gin, ham, salted beef, saddles, lard, tobacco—all the productions of the United States were assembled, and off the vessels sailed. Often the Salem ships would leave port in ballast and visit the Atlantic cities one after another, eternally trading and assembling a more valuable

cargo. Then off they would go to foreign ports. England, Denmark, France, Spain, the West Indies—every country in Europe and the Americas was a candidate for their attentions. Then, with a full cargo at last, often with not a single item of American production left, they would beat around the Cape of Good Hope, unless they called to do business at Cape Town, and visit India and such islands of the East Indies as they chose. China was at first their only goal but soon the Spice Islands came to have more interest for the Salem men.

Sumatra was such an island. In 1793 Captain Jonathan Carnes heard that pepper was growing wild there. Returning to Salem, he persuaded merchants to gamble with him, was given a little schooner and, venturing into the uncharted waters, amid the coral reefs and head-hunters, came home with a cargo of pepper. His total cost amounted to less than \$20,000 dollars. His pepper sold for \$150,000.

Consequently Salem went on a pepper jag, although, fortunately there was never a headache contracted. Salem in a short time became the leading pepper market of the entire world. From less than 500 pounds of pepper exported in 1791, in 1805 Salem alone exported nearly 7,000,000 pounds. This was practically the entire pepper crop of Sumatra and it was of infinitely more value to Salem folks than it was to the Malays of the island who gathered it.

Salem also visited Burma, opening the road to Mandalay, and imported quantities of tin. Oddly enough, Arabia was visited too, and the mocha trade brought millions of dollars to Salem in the form of coffee—although in those days it was insignificant to tea as a popular beverage.

The Philippines with their sugar, hemp, and indigo were also objects of many voyages. In fact, hardly an island in the South Seas but was visited before 1800 by Salem ships.

The War of 1812 had its disastrous effects upon Salem trade, crippling it so severely that the extinction of Salem as a sea-port was expected by some of her own citizens. But shortly, adapting herself to changed conditions, Salem recovered much of her business, although the Golden Age was past and each year brought a gradual decline.

The development of manufacturing created a demand for the importation of raw materials from abroad, which Salem was not slow to profit by, and it also provided a source of exportable merchandise, from which again Salem coined wealth.

A large tonnage for many years continued to follow the trade routes of the decades before 1812 with success. However, it was a more modest return; the days of gambling and consequent magnificent profits were ended forever. Still, meeting changed world conditions as they

did, Salem men demonstrated that it was not their mere good fortune that had brought the city power and glory. Their skill and their ships gave them the necessary margin of profit time and time again and showed the Yankee seamen able to compete with the whole world on equal terms.

The growth of Boston probably brought about the final extinction of Salem, although the port struggled bravely. With but 57 ships in 1815 as against 182 in 1807, she was handicapped badly, and one by one her merchants left for greater opportunities at Boston, New York, and even Baltimore. Manufacturing and the West slowly drained away the blood and capital of the merchants, and it was soon evident that Salem was through.

In 1845 when the control of the South American rubber trade passed away from Salem to New York, the city was ended as a great port. Her merchantmen began to sail from London and New York instead of returning home. True, their profits came back to Salem but soon owners and the sailors' families left for the port of entry and Salem lost them one by one. The West Coast of Africa was developed as a market and brought a brief flare of prosperity but there was not enough kindling left to catch the spark and it too died.

The South American hide trade also continued to prosper for a time, owing to the proximity of the tanneries at Danvers and the shoe industry of neighboring Lynn. But even this in time passed to Boston and New York. In 1848, Salem saw the establishment of the great Naumkeag Cotton Mills and from then on Salem was a manufacturing city.

A little shipping did linger. The firm of Silsbee, Stone and Pickman, enduring almost a hundred years, carried on bravely until 1893 their last ship, the square-rigger *Mindoro*, whom many citizens of the town still remember with regret, left the harbor to be cut down and spend its old age at the end of a hawser from a tug—a dirty coal barge.

THE RISE OF BOSTON

1783-1845

As soon as the reawakening of commerce followed the depression of the gloomy days of the Confederation, every sea-port on the Massachusetts shore quickened into new life. Naturally enough, this was particularly apparent in the capital city, Boston.

The year 1790 marks the opening of the Golden Age of Boston on blue water. Slowly enough, the pre-war trade had revived but the real stimulus which opened the parade to prosperity was the voyage

of a little fifty-ton sloop. In 1783, the *Harriet* of Hingham, Captain Hallet, sailed from Boston with a cargo of ginseng for Canton. The ginseng is a native plant of the Massachusetts woods, an herb whose unpleasantly flavored root is for some reason esteemed by the mandarins who then and now, will pay fancy prices for the substance.

Captain Hallet, before rounding the Cape of Good Hope, put into Cape Town for water. There he met vessels of the British East India Company who, however kindly they may have greeted the Boston ship, were greatly alarmed at this demonstration of Yankee initiative. At all costs, they doubtless agreed, they must turn back this Boston ship, lest it discover the opportunities of the Indian trade and give the Honorable Company a serious competitor. History does not record what means were essayed to turn back the little sloop. The ultimate issue was that Captain Hallet swapped his cargo for a full lading of tea. Why sail on to China, he doubtless reasoned, when here, only half-way, I have accomplished as much as if I risked the complete voyage?

So he sailed back to Boston and lost to Massachusetts the distinction of being first to China. But this did not matter in the slightest, and to the probable chagrin of the Honorable Company of London, from around the Horn, the New York ship, the *Empress of China* sailed into the harbor of Canton with the American Stars and Stripes over her stern. Major Samuel Shaw of Boston, supercargo, was in charge of the *Empress'* trading and, although as green as could be in doing business with the Chinese, did so very well at it that he arrived back in New York with such a profitable lading that the whole American sea-board marveled at it and grew ambitious to follow suit.

Boston's difficulty was like that of Salem's—what to find to trade to the Chinese? Unlike Salem and her roundabout trading hither and yon, Boston solved the problem directly. And because Boston did solve the problem simply, Boston outstripped all competitors.

The ship *Columbia*, accompanied part way by the sloop *Lady Washington*, was the experiment Boston made to solve the question. Possibly no commercial ships have ever made voyages upon which so much depended; yet the *Columbia*, Captain John Kendrick, was but 83 feet long and the *Lady Washington*, Captain Robert Gray, was but half that size.

After a stormy passage around the Horn, both vessels reached Vancouver Island too late in the year to do any business. So they anchored and built huts on shore in which to winter.

What were the ships to do on the North-west coast, in a veritable howling wilderness? They were to catch and to trade with the

Indians for the lovely furs of the Alaskan sea-otter. From Captain Shaw, Boston had learned that the Russians were doing a thriving business with the Lords of the Celestial Empire in these pelts. If the Russians trade with otter-skins, why not Boston? said the merchants, and seven of them financed the expedition, gambling that they had found the materials with which to unlock the China trade.

By the following summer, 1789, provisions were low and not sufficient skins had been obtained to load both vessels, so Captain Kendrick sent Captain Gray to Canton in the *Columbia* with what skins were on hand, while he went back to Boston. The *Columbia* arrived at Canton, found that 14 American vessels had preceded her, but also discovered that the Chinese avidly traded for his pelts. In 1790 Gray sailed into Boston Harbor with his tea, unfortunately somewhat damaged by water, but he had enough left to meet all expenses for the voyage.

It is difficult to estimate the true value of the voyage, whatever its financial profits lacked. Furs were the key to China for Boston. That was demonstrated and that was all that mattered. The channel to fortune had been charted.

Captain Thomas Perkins was the first Boston man to follow the *Columbia*. He had voyaged with Captain Magee in the Salem *Astrea* to Canton and he knew what the market was, and with furs as a lading he could visualize the immense profits awaiting. In 1790, back from Canton, he sent the tiny brigantine *Hope*, Captain Joseph Ingraham, to the North-west Coast. There, in a single summer, the crew collected nearly 1500 otter skins. The *Columbia* started her second voyage in 1790, closely followed by the brigantine *Hancock*. In 1791 the ship *Margaret* sailed, and by 1792 the great trade route—Boston-Cape Horn-North-west Coast-Canton-Boston was well established with tremendous consequences for Boston and the United States.

It is commonly alleged that the fortunes of some of Boston's first families were founded upon trading in rum and molasses and slaves. There is no evidence to support this assertion; but there is abundant testimony that from the North-west furs and China silks and teas, wealth did flow into Boston, wealth that flowed abundantly and wealth which was later used to build cotton mills, railroads, and all the ventures by and through which the United States was developed.

The flag of empire also followed the North-west Coast trade for it was the *Columbia*, on her second voyage, on May 12, 1792, Captain Gray commanding, that sailed into a great river, the Columbia. Captain Gray wrote home that his river appeared "to be a fine place to set up a factory" and he remarked that the river teemed with salmon.

His words were heeded, and thus Washington and Oregon and the packing of salmon came into being.

Of course, the North-west Coast was but a means to the end of obtaining suitable goods for Canton. But, in itself, it was a most romantic episode. Owing to the difficult navigation of the stormy and rocky coast, only small ships could be employed, seldom a hundred feet long and often only two-thirds of that. But they were well-built ships and sea-worthy. Crews were small and of amazingly high caliber compared with those of the merchant marine of today, for the sea still was the field of glory to Massachusetts boys, just as it had been before the Revolution, and it drew to its fogs and storms the best blood of the State.

Their task was worthy of their ambition, for the voyage was as hazardous a one as was ever undertaken in the regular course of the world's commerce. First, there was Cape Horn to circumnavigate—a feat that furnished a wealth of inspiration for poetry and prose. Then, after a delightful interlude on some tropical island, often one of the Marquesas, usually Hawaii—where the natives were remarkable for their kindness to poor sea-weary men, far from home—the grim coast of present British Columbia was reached. Amid the reefs and rocks eternally washed by gray combers, below the awesome cliffs and mountains whose tops were frequently cloud-buried, and under a daily shower of rain, the Yankee boys and men found themselves in a vastly different world from the placid one of home. Danger was ever present. The Indians were always ready enough to trade their otter pelts for the charming bagatelles the "Boston men" offered, but they were even more eager to obtain the glittering tinsels without having to give skins in return. So they were eternally apt to surprise an unguarded ship, and especially in the early days, battles with the Indians were common experiences. The gravest conflict of this kind resulted in the loss of the *Boston*, Captain John Salter, who, together with all his crew, save two boys, were slaughtered. However, the ships eventually became well armed, their crews experienced and thus, while considerable blood was often shed and many a Boston boy never came home, the profits of the ship-owners came to suffer no particular hazard from the hands of the Indians.

Usually two years were necessary to reach the North-west Coast and gather furs and, at least another year was consumed in reaching China and sailing home again, so that a three year voyage was the common experience and they were often longer. However, this was no hardship for the sailors for those were times of spacious leisure. Ships that met at sea did not merely exchange blasts upon the whistle

as they do today. No, they backed the top-sails to check their way and the crews visited back and forth while homeward-bound ships would often wait until the crew of outward-bound vessels took time out to write home and tell their families they were well and thinking of them.

Once a lading of lustrous otter skins was obtained, it was up-anchor and off for China. This was not a pleasure voyage either; it was a long monotonous business for days on end until, once past Formosa, things livened up as the Boston ships ran the gauntlet of Oriental pirate ships. These escaped or fought off—sometimes not successfully—the ships sailed past the Old Portuguese city of Macao and tacked wearily up the great river to the head of navigation at Whampoa, the single roadstead provided for the ships of all foreign-devils by the condescending Chinese. After customs and the accepted graftings were paid, permits were issued and the long business of lightening the cargo a dozen miles up-stream to Canton was endured. There, at Jackass Point, in hongs, hired from the twelve Chinese merchants who stood as sponsors, protectors, and guardians of foreigners, the cargoes were stored and trading begun.

In these modern days, we cannot appreciate the fascination China had for the Yankee boys. Rigidly barred from the City itself, yet the harbor and the shore was open to the sailors and they found a thousand and one delights to entertain them.

Meanwhile, the officers, the supercargoes and the resident representatives of the merchants were busy. It is most gratifying to record that, even from the beginning, Boston and Salem men alike enjoyed most favorable relations with the Chinese. In sharp contrast to the arrogant Englishmen, Yankee men conducted themselves with proverbial tact and decency which reaped a rich reward in honest and considerate dealing from the Chinese merchants. For example, one of the Hong merchants, Houqua, whose name was table talk in Boston, once tore up a promissory note for \$72,000 that a Bostonian in hard luck was unable to meet.

Of course, business was business in those days too, and it was not all conducted so magnanimously. The cost of trading was tremendous; the overhead was terrific: commissions, presents, and unvarnished graft were the order of the day. The great British East India Company could never seem to learn how the small, individually managed Boston ships could make a profit in view of the expense attached. The reason seems to be that free competition, the utter absence of British "pomp and circumstance" compensated for the smaller calibre of turn-over in Yankee goods, and thus, dollar for dollar, Yankees made larger profits than did John Bull.

Regularly, when the coming of winter brought favoring winds, the ships slipped away from Whampoa, caught the strong north-east monsoon, which blew them across the China Sea to Borneo. There, particularly through the Banka Straits, the passage was dangerous. Not only were storms frequent and navigation difficult, but nests of pirates lay in wait. At Java, the ships provisioned and made through reef-choked Sunda Straits to open water once more. Across the India Ocean to the Cape of Good Hope, around that, and then one long, glorious bee-line for Cape Cod and Boston Bay.

Although the sea-otter furs were the most valuable means to the China trade, a new branch developed about 1790 when it was discovered that the skins of seals could be sold in Canton. Seal skins were worth comparatively little but they were infinitely easier and cheaper to obtain. Off the coast of Chile, the islands were literally black with seals, and all that crews had to do was to land, club the defenseless creatures to death, flay them, and sail on. Often as many as 100,000 seal skins were picked up in passing by a single ship. They were worth, on the average, about \$1.50 each at Canton, before the flooded market forced prices down somewhat. Otter skins on the contrary were worth about \$50 each.

Yet another variation of the North-west Coast trade lay in visiting the coast of Spanish California. This was all the more profitable and delightful a trade for Boston because it was illegal. Spain was far away, and both Bostonians and Californians did as they pleased with just enough of risk to spice the intercourse. The friendly relations lasted without a break for a full half-century, until the discovery of gold put an end to California's Arcadian existence.

The product of the missions in California for which Boston traded was hides. Whole cargoes of notions were exchanged for them. At first the trade was but an incident in the China voyage but in 1822, when California became a part of Mexico, the hide trade became an objective in itself. Practically all the hides of California were collected by Boston ships and consumed in Boston and adjacent cities in the making of shoes. It was a pleasant trade and a profitable one too, socially as well as financially, for through honest marriage as well as otherwise, much Puritan blood entered into the citizenry of the future Golden State.

Soon after the turn of the century, political events in Europe opened up new fields of adventure for Boston (and Salem) merchants, fields nearer home and very richly strewn with profits too. This was first cultivated in the case of France. The blockade maintained by Britain during the years of war forced food prices to famine heights. All

that Yankees had to do was to load up with cheap food-stuffs of Boston, flout the British Navy, a pleasure indeed, you may be sure, and sell their cargoes at fabulous sums to the hungry French.

The next development was the Mediterranean trade. Loading not only with native produce, but with the silks and teas and china from the East, which glutted the wharves at both Salem and Boston, the tiny ships would slip past Gibraltar and go trading from port to port just as a century before fish were traded. Sometimes they were captured by the Barbary pirates; sometimes they would foul the frigates of warring nations and be captured—but usually they went blithely on their way, eternally picking up profit wherever they went. Turning over their ladings several times in a single voyage, they often cleared the cost of the vessel in one trip, and it was common for the return cargo of fruit from Smyrna (and opium too, for re-export to China), or wine, to be entirely profit. This trade was known as the “neutral carrying trade,” but it was much more than that. Usually this means just the freighting of goods at exorbitant rates. These Yankee ships did not merely do that; their masters bought and sold on their owners’ accounts and accumulated immense sums in profits by repeatedly turning over and over their speculations.

Another development was the Baltic trade in which American goods and re-exported Chinese and Californian and East Indian products were taken to Hamburg, Lubeck, Amsterdam, Copenhagen, and even to Archangel up amid the snows.

If there was not a port in Europe, the Orient, and Africa but what knew Boston ships, the cities of South America were soon added to the list. Captain Gray of *Columbia* fame opened the South American trade in 1798. In 1802 twenty Massachusetts vessels visited the Rio Plate and the trade developed so rapidly that by 1810 Boston was sending hides from the Argentine and cinchona bark from Peru to Europe and Africa. Close friendships followed commercial relations and many Yankees fought for the various South American nations when they threw off the yoke of Spain. Many prominent South American families of today are descendants of Yankee merchants and captains who married into the Spanish families there.

Japan was not neglected, although relations were never so friendly as they were with China. The famous Boston sloop, *Lady Washington*, with the equally celebrated Captain Kendrick in command, visited Nippon in 1791 but could not do any business as only the Dutch East India Company had the right to trade with exclusive Japan. However, when France became allied with Holland in 1795, the Dutch Company, fearing to sail out of Batavia for fear of capture by British war-ships,

chartered American bottoms to trade with Japan. This was a lucrative business. In 1800, the ship *Massachusetts* of Boston was chartered for \$100,000 and in 1801 the Salem ship *Margaret* was similarly lucky. However, as far as is known, the *Margaret* was the last foreign ship to visit Japan until Commodore Perry so inconsiderately violated the Island's isolation and started the Japanese off on their empire-building program.

Almost without variation, save as occasioned by the fact of war, Boston trade followed in all these channels until about 1840. The chief variation was not in routes, ships, or methods but in the cargoes. The China trade, as the most important, is an example of this. By 1815, Canton china-ware was crowded out by cheaper, if less beautiful, English and French dishes and porcelains. Silks soon declined in popularity with changes in fashion and the growth of cotton production, until by 1840 tea was the only member of the original triumvirate remaining. In that year tea was some 85 percent of United States importations from China. More serious, for Boston, even though Boston bottoms were still numerically superior, much of the shipping of the 30's and 40's went to New York. For example about 1840, of 91 ships from China entering New York, 39 were owned in Massachusetts. During this period, Boston and Salem averaged but five entries in this trade yearly. East-Indian, Russian, Philippine, and Mediterranean imports, however, continued to come principally to Salem and Boston, although Boston gradually came to be the more important. The Erie canal was responsible for the loss of the tea business as New York became the logical road into the interior. On the whole, however, the trade slipped away year by year, and although until the end the business continued large in volume, no fabulous fortunes were created. Otter-skins and seal-skins were gradually forgotten and instead the products of the remarkable development of New England's manufacturing became the cargoes which interested Massachusetts most. This was, however, a mere carrying trade. Freights paid dividends which, although charming, were not the magnificent profits of the former days.

For a time opium was an important article of trade for Boston ships. However, the volume was a mere trickle, compared with the stupendous profits of the "Honorable East India Company." Boston ships made no secrets of the nefarious business and it must be remembered that what they sold was sold for value received to Chinese merchants. There is a difference between this way of doing even the opium business and the British method of forcing their annual \$15,000,000 opium trade down the throats of the Chinese with cannon and bayonet—as the Honorable Company ultimately had to do to

maintain its profits against Chinese efforts to stifle the trade which was destroying the Chinese people body and soul. Boston had no share in the English opium war of 1840, and although America profited in its outcome by the new avenues of trade opened, we as a nation still have the good-will of China. For a time after 1840, the tea trade continued to interest Boston, as her great clippers joined in the annual race to market but gradually the trade died away and today, no trace of the once glamorous China trade remains in Boston.

This period is noteworthy, this period when most things were slowly declining, for one new venture: the Yankee ice ships. It was a great business while it lasted and it was solely due to the courage and persistence of one man, Frederic Tudor. Alone, undismayed by failure, recalcitrant captains, and indifferent markets, he spent a fortune before he finally educated the world to use Boston ice.

He started at the age of 22, shipping a cargo of ice from a pond in Saugus to Martinique. It was a complete failure. By 1812 his persistence had built up a small trade with the West Indies but war wiped him out. Undismayed, he began again. He built ice-houses at Havana and by 1817 he found his books changing their color from red to black. By 1820 he had ventured to Charleston, Savannah and New Orleans, and by 1833 he had progressed so far that he sent a ship to Calcutta. By then other merchants had joined in and between 1833 and 1850 the Boston ice ships were visiting every port in the tropics the world around. The trade even persisted after the Civil War and it would undoubtedly be prospering still had not scientists invented ice-making machinery and cut the ground away from this last trading venture of the Bay State.

NEWBURYPORT, GLOUCESTER, IPSWICH, BEVERLY, MARBLEHEAD,
HINGHAM, SCITUATE, PLYMOUTH, THE CAPE, AND NANTUCKET

Boston and Salem were not the only Massachusetts towns interested in blue water. At one time or another, every hamlet with moisture enough to float a dory had its merchants and sailors. In many cases, this was a mere coastwise trade, particularly in the early days when roads were not only few but poor so that it was profitable to coast from port to port rather than to drag wagons through mud and mire by sheer force. Some of the larger towns, at one time or another, however, did enjoy considerable foreign trade.

Newburyport

At the mouth of the Merrimac River, Newburyport was the trading center for many years for north-eastern Massachusetts and adjacent

New Hampshire. However, the citizens were forced to put themselves to considerable labor and expense before they could profit by their geographical position. The entrance to the port was barred by a sand bank with only a fathom of water at low tide, and much of the time vessels had to be warned not to cross it but to lie into the wind or anchor until conditions became favorable. Then the falls in the Merrimac near Lowell halted river traffic, until finally in 1792 a company was formed to dig a canal around them. Incidentally, this canal company later became the proprietors of the city of Lowell. Through this canal, quantities of oak and pine poured down stream, and goods were freighted up in return, providing Newburyport not only with a trading area but also with plenty of material with which to build ships. This industry was of considerable importance for many years; in 1810, for example, the territory about Newburyport built 12,000 tons of vessels, and not only that, but the citizens made all the fittings locally.

While fishing was of great importance, a fleet of about one hundred vessels was busy in coasting and in foreign trade. Industry supported this trade in large measure, for the city became famous for its distilleries, its breweries, its jewelry factories, and even its printing presses. Much good fortune attended the various enterprises and the merchants and business men built attractive homes, many of which are still standing. High Street, "the street" of the city, is noted the world over for its mansions, some of which are of the early 1800's, square, hip-roofed, graciously garden-ed and delightfully simple and substantial, their great dignity emphasized rather than softened by the lovely details of interior finishing.

The death blow to the city—and the whole region—came in 1807 with the Embargo, which forbade any American ship to clear for foreign ports. Shipbuilding ceased altogether and commerce slowed down to a standstill. When Boston finally weathered the storm and began to expand, it was too late for the smaller towns to recover. Their merchants, their sailors, and their ships were drawn to Boston as by a magnet and never returned, save for unimportant coasting enterprises.

Gloucester

Traditionally the great fishing center, Gloucester for a time enjoyed considerable foreign trade. For some reason, which will never be explained and which was a mystery even in the 1790's when it began, Gloucester cornered the trade with Dutch Guiana. Fish down and molasses back; those were the two staples, and not even Boston or

Salem edged in on the business. Gloucester did essay the East India trade but the disaster which overtook the *Winthrop and Mary*, their principal ship, ended that trade once and for all time. This venture was the high-water mark of Gloucester's mercantile expansion. It did share in the development of the Tudor ice trade and it did continue its export of salt fish—and fresh fish, when ice became available for refrigeration—but, as from the very first beginnings through the present day, Gloucester means fish and is fish.

Ipswich

Up the tidal Ipswich River, past Rowley and Essex, despite its inland situation and its marshy creek, Ipswich also shared in the shipping of Colonial days. Primarily it was mostly a ship-building town, and even today many an able schooner is fashioned on the muddy banks of the creek. But before the days of the Embargo, using waters often uncomfortable to a motor launch today, there was a fair-sized fleet of ships that carried "Ipswich" on their sterns. Most of the ships were for fishing, like at Gloucester, but, also like the same port, Ipswich had her coasting sloops and larger vessels for the West Indies trade. The Embargo ruined this fleet, of course, and the town turned from the sea to manufacturing, especially after a new sand bar blocked the River.

Beverly

In back of Salem, but with a better harbor and equal advantages in other things, Beverly seems always to have had a "tough deal." She taught Salem the fishing business; Salem usurped that. She taught Salem how to privateer; Salem absorbed that and finally, in 1789, Salem, named a port of entry, took over Beverly altogether. However, Beverly had distinguished citizens; their names are all that Beverly needs—Lee, Thorndike and Cabot. These families, together with the leaders in Salem and Boston and Newburyport formed a closed corporation which for a generation after the Revolution ruled Massachusetts with an iron fist.

Through all the rise and fall of Salem, Beverly citizens continued to fish. After becoming important in the late 1700's and then declining until the Embargo, by 1815, Beverly had recovered its interest in the sacred cod and by 1840 had some sixty odd vessels engaged in fishing. By then, however, the industrial spirit was walking abroad and Beverly succumbed and its fishing industry steadily declined, permitting all its sons with salt water mixed in their blood to go to Marblehead and Boston.

Marblehead

No one will ever do justice to Marblehead historically. It started out as a fishing village pure and simple. Its folk were of different breed from Boston's Puritans and, despite the authority the capital nominally exercised, the little town on its heap of rocks brooked no interference from the Elders. Time and time again economic disaster ravaged the town, but, through it all, the town maintained its identity and even today, while it has been degraded—or exalted, as you will—to the yachting Mecca of the summer Atlantic, the town is enveloped in a romantic aura which testifies to the sturdy spirit of the rocky town of Marblehead.

In Colonial days it was a prosperous town, a rival of Salem. Marblehead not only had a large and prosperous fishing fleet but the coasting trade was attracted to it. As sailors in merchantmen, Marbleheaders were not conspicuously successful, however, for Salem and Boston owners found them "too independent" although even Salem men, deadly rivals, admitted that Marbleheaders "were able seamen." They had to be for every boy was born and bred to the fishing and learned seamanship as boys today learn to read and write.

The Revolution nearly wiped the town out of existence. Nothing was left to it but fishing and this had sunk to its lowest ebb. Average earnings are quoted at but \$273 a vessel in 1790.

To save the situation, with a quarter of its population existing upon charity, Marblehead went into foreign trade. She sent fish to France and Spain as well as to the West Indies, and when the wars of Napoleon made the "carrying trade" a golden opportunity, Marblehead schooners were right in the thick of it. But this burst of prosperity was short-lived. The Embargo put her back into dire misery again. By 1820, she had in a measure recovered some foreign trade. But in another generation, her merchants had emigrated to Boston and only the fisheries remained. These too, did not long endure; shoe-making became the order of the new day and shortly this industry was twice as important as the fishing.

Hingham, Scituate and Plymouth

Blocked by poor harbors and limited by the lack of "back-country" to support them, these three towns just to the south of Boston failed ever to equal the towns to the north as seaports.

Hingham built the sloop *Harriet* which opened the way to Boston's China trade. A coasting trade flourished to Boston—despite the short

distance overland! Fishing flourished too, as did ship-building, but Boston, as it grew, absorbed Hingham and it withered in the shade of the capital.

Scituate has a small harbor, from which in colonial days a fishing fleet operated. However, Scituate and its neighbors, Norwell, Marshfield, Pembroke and Hanover, being on the thin stream of the North River, claim greater attention for their ship-building. On this little stream, down which the greatest ingenuity was necessary to float ships to the sea, there flourished around 1800 a really remarkable industry. For five of those years, the average number of ships built was close to twenty-five and at one time eleven yards were busy. But, as in everything else, Boston after 1812 came to pre-empt even ship-building.

Plymouth, even more than North River towns, was hampered by its sand-choked harbor. From the beginning, however, until 1812, it was a fair fishing town and during the days of "neutral trading" its fleet engaged in foreign trade vied with that of Marblehead. But even into this business, Boston put its finger. Cargoes from Spain and France were not re-exported directly from Plymouth. Not at all; they went to Boston for shipment to the South and West. In coasting Plymouth was important until roads were improved, and the railroads finally stifled the business. At one time no less than six sloops were operating upon as exact a schedule as wind and weather allowed between Boston and Plymouth, exchanging local products for the raw materials necessary for Plymouth industries.

The Cape

The Cape, as Cape Cod is known in Massachusetts, is distinguished not so much for her own shipping interests as for her sailors. Cape Codders commanded many of Boston's and New York's ships and for generations the Cape was the nation's greatest nursery for marine officers. Fishing always flourished from the beginning, as it does today, although on a smaller scale. Shell-fishing particularly for clams and the succulent scallop and calendar-conscious oyster developed as fishing declined and even in these late days Cape scallops and Cape oysters enjoy a sterling reputation which is not unfounded in merit.

In the days before the Civil War, as well as in Colonial times, every village along both sandy shores had its fleet of fishermen and the larger had their "packets," swift, small but able sloops and schooners which operated between Boston and New York to considerable advantage. But the Civil War marks the decline of the Cape. Its men folk had to go elsewhere for an occupation and where manufacturing did not draw

them, the expansion of the West did. Cape Cod has always lacked capitalists: this may explain the decline of Cape Cod to its present delightful if parasitic place as a summer resort. Cranberry culture is its one distinctive industry, aside from shell-fishing; but, enriched by tradition, the Cape will always stand as the mother of the finest seamen the world has ever known. They were the true latter-day Yankee type, mighty men in the days before steam.



NANTUCKET

Nantucket

Nantucket means whaling. New Bedford was important in that industry too, but Nantucket was the metropolis of whales from 1815 to 1860. Whaling is, however, another story, another chapter.

A bit of debris left by the glacier, Nantucket, and her sister islands may seem to unsympathetic eyes low, barren, sandy, wind-swept back-of-nowheres, but to those who know the Islands, there is no Eden in America that compares with them. Unspoiled, as yet, with a climate, flora and folk all their own, the Islands are cherished as they should be. No ship-building flourished upon the Islands, fishing was never of prime importance and about the only important trading done was with packet

ships to the mainland for articles the Island itself could not produce. In all else the Island was whales; it lived on whales from the beginning, rose to the heights of prosperity as long as whale-oil had a market and then declined into oblivion, maritimately speaking, when kerosene replaced the "juice of the whale."

THE WAR OF 1812

Although the War of 1812 was a conflict with Great Britain, it very nearly developed into a Civil War between New England and the rest of the United States, for no action of the Federal Government so disastrously affected Massachusetts in all its history—and, as is to be expected, no action was ever so unpopular. Boston and Salem did not approve of the war and actually ignored it as much as was possible.

This anti-war sentiment being so strong, it is clear why, in contrast with activities in the Revolution, Massachusetts ships were not outstandingly active in privateering. In proportion to the size of the state-owned fleets, they did really very little. Boston, the records show, sent out fewer privateers than Baltimore did, and Salem fewer than New York. The smaller Massachusetts ports were even less enthusiastic and little New Bedford, not content with abstaining altogether, voted to intern for forty days any American privateer that presumed to enter her harbor.

However, privateering was an attractive business and many ship-owners, their desire for profits overwhelming their political disaffection, did fit out their ships and found no lack of men to sign their articles. The first year of the War provided rich fare; Salem owned eighteen little armed vessels which brought in eighty-seven prizes. The second year of the war, however, with England aroused, brought an end to this prosperity, for British frigates blockaded the coast and their activities more than swung the balance of captured merchant men away from the United States.

American privateers then, after dashing through the blockade, struck at John Bull off his own shores. They based upon the hospitable ports of France and did a thriving business, although it is alleged by writers of the times that French fingers managed to keep much of the value of the prizes the Yankees brought in and sold.

The serious effect of the War became more than apparent by 1814 when so vigorously did the British ships prosecute their blockade that coasting and fishing ceased altogether, receiving a blow from which many small ports never recovered. The completeness and effectiveness of the blockade is evident from the fact that in place of the swarm of

coasting vessels, a thriving business of hauling goods by wagon between Boston and the South sprang up, despite the deplorable condition of the roads and the great overhead expense involved.

Not content with blockading Massachusetts, the British frigates late in 1814 raided the smaller towns and hardly a place escaped their visitations. Usually a mere show of force would frighten the landing parties off but often no resistance was offered. In fact, towns actually paid what might be charitably called ransom to be left alone. Eastham paid twelve hundred dollars to escape a bombardment and the town meeting of Brewster paid four thousand dollars to save their salt-works and village from destruction. Not all towns were so supine; Falmouth bravely withstood a bombardment, as did other towns. In general, it might be said that towns in which the disaffection against the Federal Government was highest either paid or suffered passively while more loyal towns resisted the British and suffered no great harm.

It is difficult to estimate today, which "enemy" was the most harmful to Massachusetts' maritime prosperity during the years which preceded the War and during the War itself—the British or the Federal Government. But it is not difficult to estimate which "enemy" was the most unpopular: the Government at Washington easily enjoyed that distinction. From the fervent support the Capitol City had always received from Massachusetts, the acts of the Federal Government quickly alienated all respect and affection while, in their place, grew up a spirit of distrust and downright hatred which persisted for many years. Even today, upon occasion, Massachusetts regards Washington as a great octopus, reaching out everlastingly to seize one by one upon the rights and privileges of the State and bind the Commonwealth ever closer and closer in utter dependence. State Rights is a vexed question, but Massachusetts' feelings upon the matter are clearly seen to have their roots back in 1807, when the Embargo was passed by Congress.

This Embargo, Massachusetts believed, was a deliberate attack upon the prosperity of New England by the other "jealous states." On its face, the Embargo was a measure designed to save American shipping from destruction by ordering all American vessels not to clear for foreign ports. Massachusetts could not see any difference between having its fleet crippled by foreign powers and having Washington perform the same office.

The loss to Massachusetts was colossal; there can be no question of that. In 1807, Massachusetts' tonnage in foreign trade was the largest in America, more than twice that of her greatest rival, New York. Massachusetts' fishing fleet was close to 90 percent of all American fishermen. And the State, of course, led in the whaling

industry. The annual income of the State's vessels was probably as large as the entire Federal income.

This great fleet the Government at Washington ordered tied up; this great income, it ordered forsaken. Of course, it should be pointed out, fishing vessels, as long as they stayed out of foreign ports, were not kept tied up. But they actually were anchored as well as the merchant ships, for the loss of the foreign markets meant disaster for the business in serious proportion. Massachusetts could not eat fish and nothing else—so prices fell as the market was glutted, and poverty ruled supreme.

Thus New England, with bread taken out of its mouth, was not sympathetic to Jefferson's statements that his plan was to protect their ships and to embarrass England and hamper Napoleon. If this was all, thought Boston and Salem, why ban the East India and China trade where French influence did not reach at all, and where England would be benefited and not harmed in the least by the absence of the Yankee? So New England set down Jefferson's act as sheer hypocrisy, and deserted Jefferson almost to a man.

Consequently, in 1809, the Embargo was lifted—but the damage was done. Prosperity returned, but only to the larger cities. The smaller towns were prostrated, and, save for brief periods of activity, as flickers of flame from a dying log fire, they slowly dwindled away as Boston, growing ever larger, drew everything into its harbor. More serious, politically, was the loss to the then Republican Party of New England backing. New England came to regard Washington as a greater foe than even "perfidious Albion" and developed in the Yankee a sense of superiority to and a feeling of contempt for the South—a contempt that played its part in making the Civil War as bitter as it was, and Reconstruction so difficult.

To this economic harm, New England added, as the war came on, the belief that once again Washington was working against the interests of New England for the favoring of the South. New England did not consider the war justified and hotly denied any reason for it. Madison was not an adroit president and he failed even more dismally than Jefferson did to win New England. Thus from Connecticut to the tip of Maine, the War was regarded as being nothing but a successful coup of Napoleon, a French trick through which Madison was betrayed into hostilities with England.

That may be true—or it may not—but, to the maritime interests of Massachusetts, it seemed positively certain. One of the causes of war Madison gave was the impressment of American merchant seamen. How great this evil practice really was, will never be known.

There was impressment; that much is certain. British ships did stop American merchantmen on the high seas and remove American citizens on the ground that they were subjects of the Crown. However, it appears probable that this impressment was exaggerated. The government alleged in 1812 that it knew of six thousand American seamen impressed into the British service. This statement was attacked by the General Court of Massachusetts who caused a group of Massachusetts merchants, who annually employed some fifteen hundred sailors, to declare that they did not know of more than twelve cases of impressment from their vessels. Probably neither statement is correct, but it does seem curious that the National Government brought the United States into War on this ground alone—England having repealed her obnoxious Orders-in-Council, another prime cause of the war, just after the United States declared war—when the French at Danzig impressed twenty-two American seamen and forced them into the French Navy. Thus Massachusetts found 1812 hard to understand, impossible to support, and very disastrous to her interests, a war which, unimportant to much of the United States, nearly ruined her.

SHIPS, SAILORS AND MERCHANTS OF THE GOLDEN AGE

1790-1850

Ships

Marvelous as the growth and the harvest of the Massachusetts merchant marine was, the miracle of its story lies not so much in its success but in the small size of the vessels with which the wonder was wrought. To modern folk, who think nothing of a 25,000 ton freighter, and liners so huge that crossing the Western Ocean is hardly more than the spending of a week shut up in a luxurious hotel, the Massachusetts ships would appear to be nothing but pleasure boats. And yet, what is perhaps even more remarkable still, the percentage of shipwreck, considering conditions, was phenomenally small. Not that men and even ships were not lost at sea—the graveyards of all the New England shore bear much eloquent testimony to boys who sailed away and never came back—but considering the size of the ships, the haphazard methods of navigation and the total lack of the thousand and one modern aids to comfort and safety, the wonder is that a ship made a world-wide voyage at all.

The answer is that as far as the size of a ship is concerned, there is nothing gained in safety by an increase in mere size above a certain minimum. The modern fishing schooner, frequenter of the Grand Banks of Newfoundland, dares as stormy seas as exist on the globe.

Hardly larger than the life-boats of the great liners, they weather the wildest north-east gale with the greatest of ease. All a fisherman asks is plenty of sea-room; given that, no wind blows that can disturb him.

Nevertheless the ships in which Boston and Salem voyaged to gain the wealth of the Indies were small craft. From models and records in the Essex Institute and Peabody Museum, Salem, the Marblehead Historical Society, the Old Dartmouth Historical Society, the Old State House, Boston (Bostonian Society)—all of which are public—the really trifling size of these daring vessels can easily be ascertained. It appears that, about 1805, the average length of Salem-built East-Indiamen was but 100 feet and their breadth but 28 feet. These dimensions are approximately those of modern fishing schooners.

One reason for this, in Salem at any rate, was that the water was so shoal that larger ships could not reach the wharves. In Boston, there was plenty of water, and yet Boston ships were no larger—in fact, somewhat smaller in size, if anything.

Perhaps a more important reason for small ships was that any increase in size would have increased cost of building, cost of fitting and cost of operating without commensurate increase in financial return. Again, merchants who to begin with, were not over-wealthy, preferred not "to put all their eggs in one basket." Several small ships served their ideas of proper operation better than one large ship. And it must not be forgotten either, that to start with Massachusetts ship-builders were not experienced in building large ships, and if there is one business under the sun which is conservative, one which makes progress very slowly and cautiously, it is naval construction. When lives as well as dollars depend not merely upon the honesty of workmanship but upon every curve of design, ship-masters as well as ship-owners are prone to trust to that which has been tested by time and ignore that which is new and untried.

To put it baldly, most early American ships, despite their bright colorings and carved sterns and bows, were decidedly chunky. They did not slide gracefully through the water like a modern yacht does; they shouldered sturdily through each wave, making their passage by sheer force with a great-to-do of foaming about the bows, you may be sure. But they were stout ships and in between their "wallsides" they had ample cargo space. Those two things are what counted. Time was not of great value, safety and capacity were, and thus development of American ships was not rapid.

The Revolution had started things towards improvement and the War of 1812 developed design still more, but nothing much was accomplished for years, save that the high castle-like quarter decks

were lowered and the breadth in proportion to the length was a little lessened.

It must not be forgotten, however, that naval architecture was an unknown idea in those days. No ships were drawn on paper. The ship-builder, when a vessel was ordered, set to work by first carving out a hull from a block of wood. This model completed to the satisfaction of everyone concerned, was sawed neatly in halves: the owner received one as a sort of contract; the builder took the other and from it, with the use of a scale, constructed the actual ship. It was not a business, this; it was an art; the contractor was a real artist beyond all question.

By the middle of the first half of the century, however, there came to be a demand for faster ships. This came about because time even in those days was coming to have value. In the China trade competition, springing up between American and British firms, to be the first to the market each year became important. Speed meant dollars and thus, for the first time, carrying capacity was sacrificed to speed. Another call for speed came from the ships plying with passengers across the Atlantic; "packets," these were called. A voyage in those days, for a land-lubber, was at the best an unpleasant experience, and naturally the ship with the highest reputation for quick passage was preferred, as the agony was that much briefer. For this shortened period of sea-sickness, passengers proved willing to pay premiums and thus speed came to mean profits.

By 1840, these new ship types were definitely established. They were the same ships, brig and brigantine, in masts and sails, but their hulls were lengthened, their beam lessened and their lines refined so that they slid through the water with much less fussing about it—all of which meant speed, the first application of stream-lining about which so much is heard today. In those days, however, it was water-resistance and not air resistance that was important.

The name clipper was given to this new type of vessel although properly that honored name belongs only to a type which did not come until later. From 1812, when the development started, to 1850, when the real clipper arose like a meteor, startled the world and faded as quickly, the name clipper simply meant a vessel of whatever rig, schooner or ship, which sacrificed cargo capacity to speed. Plenty of the old, wall-sided, bluff-bowed ships were built; they were plain work-horses of the day; bearing much the same relation to the clippers as do tramp steamers to liners today.

The only other development, aside from new materials in rigging, from 1812 on to about 1850 was increase in size. Steadily ships did

grow larger. For generations, Massachusetts believed that a ship of 500 tons burden was the limit for economical and practical work. But by 1830 larger ships began to appear and Samuel Hall built in East Boston in 1839 the unusually fast *Akbar* of 650 tons. As a rule, ports to the South were more interested in larger ships than Massachusetts was. For example, Donald McKay, the genius of the clipper, in 1841 built at Newburyport two large ships which were ordered from New York. Moving to East Boston, he began building, for Enoch Train's fleet of Liverpool packets, larger and larger ships, which, thanks to McKay's genius, were also faster and faster. Some of these were the *Daniel Webster*, 185 feet long and 1187 tons, the *Ocean Monarch*, 178 feet long and 1301 tons. In 1846, he built his largest early ship for a New York firm. This was the *New World* and she was 1404 tons. These ships, however, were not clippers. They were yet to come, although only a few years away.

Sailors

Although the sea route as the easiest and quickest way to riches, lost its allure soon after the Revolution, throughout the Golden Age, the romance of the sea called annual crops of boys to its mystery. These boys were of two classes. Once afloat the glamor was lost; that it was a hard life and a dreary one, usually became speedily apparent. Accordingly most of the boys lost their ambition and quickly returned home to agriculture and industry as soon as they were able. A few however, and plenty of them at that, found the life attractive despite its difficulties, and these, after but a single voyage or two, rose quickly to officer's rank. Thus, in the main, Massachusetts ships were all officered by Massachusetts men. To be a sailor in the Golden Age meant not to be a mere seaman but an officer. The crews, the A. B.'s of modern language, were composed of successive crops of boys and by foreigners, usually Englishmen, who, as a class, were born to be before the mast and possessed neither the aptitude nor the desire for the quarter deck, and also by Germans, Swedes, Spaniards, French and other Latin nations as well as Indians, negroes, and, in the China Trade, Malays and Islanders.

Land life in New England was no longer the gloomy existence of Puritan days and this greater growth of freedom also dimmed the lure of the sea, but still it was an alternative to mere farming and it did have romance—fighting with Indians on the North-west coast, sporting about with Island girls enroute, and, finally, seeing the still vivid magic of the Orient—these were potent lures even down to Civil War days.

Financially, too, the sea was still attractive. In the days when common labor on shore received less than a dollar a day and with few opportunities to earn even that save on the farm, when army privates were paid but three dollars a month, men before the mast were receiving their board and lodging and some twenty dollars a month. Thus, with voyages enduring from two to three years, even with the extortion practiced by owners in supplying clothes out of the "slop chest" a farm boy could come home with some \$500 in his pocket. In those days that was CAPITAL. It would buy a farm, stock it and enable the youth to marry the prettiest girl in the village and still have money left. Small wonder then that ambitious boys went to sea, if for nothing more than "to get a stake in life."

And it was not only farm boys who were attracted; sons of wealth and family were drawn to sea, too. They sailed, commonly, not as sailors but as supercargoes, the business agent of the owner. As a rule this was the preliminary to setting up in business as a merchant or of "learning the ropes" so as to take a son's place in his father's firm. It was no soft berth. The "super" had to be diplomatic; he had to know trade and world conditions, and above all he had to learn quickly and compete with men.

Sometimes supercargoes became enamoured of the sea and went on as officers and captains, but usually captains came up from the fore-castle and did not climb in through the cabin window. The rise to a master's berth was uncommonly rapid in those days, too. Officers in their teens and captains by the time they were twenty-one; these are the astonishing records of how youth was served in the Golden Age, records to which many mossy tomb-stones in Massachusetts graveyards bear witness.

As the Golden Age drew to its close, wages fell and the life became less attractive. Consequently, although officers were still native born Yankees, crews came more and more to be foreign. Constant hard work was the every-day experience and the quality of food constantly ran downhill. Rum, served liberally, was the spirit of the old days, but it eventually practically disappeared from the menu and plain water took its place, water which long before the end of many voyages became "thick enough to eat with a fork." As canned goods were unknown, food-stuffs were confined largely to three articles: ship's biscuit or hard-tack, molasses, and salted beef ("salt horse"). These were the three staples served day in and day out. Baked-beans and a sort of sweetened corn bread, called plum-duff, if the cook managed to find a few raisins to put into the mixture, were holiday treats. Whenever a land-fall made fresh vegetables possible, quantities were obtained

but the lack of refrigeration made even the most liberal captains wary of stocking up more than could be eaten in a few days.

Even at the best of times a hard, rough business, the sailor's life became rapidly worse as owners called upon their captains for more and more speed. This meant harder driving of the men in shifting the sails to take the utmost advantage of the wind, and with foreign crews this inevitably meant brutality. Unquestionably, Yankee "hell-ships" have been over-drawn but there certainly was little persuasion and much force exerted by the officers in driving the crews to their work.

Brutal officers existed, of course, but the average Yankee mate was probably no worse than any other man of his time. As a class the Yankee ships paid the highest wages, provided the best table and attracted the best crews afloat. Yankee seamanship was and is the standard of the world.

Navigation

From the very beginning Massachusetts ships were celebrated for accomplishment; they delivered the utmost in service and paid the highest dividends to owners. This was due to the skill of the officers and the willingness of the crews. But it was not until 1801 that navigation passed from guess-work to the science that it rapidly became. Previously, "dead-reckoning" was the only method a captain had of finding his way about the watery wastes of the world. By compass, log and his sense of position, he guessed his way about. Ships did not know the time, they could not find their position by any means whatever until they sighted some land which, if familiar, told them where they were. That this was a dangerous business goes without emphasis.

The change was brought about chiefly by one man, Nathaniel Bowditch. Born in Salem in 1773, he had a passion for mathematics. In 1796 he went to sea and thereafter spent his leisure time studying navigation. In a standard English work on navigation, the young genius found no less than eight thousand errors—and errors mean ship-wreck in navigation. So, after several voyages, he determined to publish a book on navigation himself. In 1801 it appeared—*Bowditch's Practical Navigator*—the book which is the Bible of the sailor. It has passed through countless editions, has been widely translated and is today the standard work upon the subject.

Sailors were, however, characteristically slow to take up with Bowditch's work. Why should they? The *Sally* of Boston in 1816 sailed across the ocean, right up to the English Channel in a fog and

storm to its goal, Denmark, without its captain, Jeremiah Mayo, ever taking an observation or ever seeing land this side of Denmark. Slowly, however, ship-owners saw the benefits of accurate navigation and supplied their vessels with costly chronometers and other instruments so that by the time the clippers arrived to capitalize time and speed, Yankee captains were ably prepared to work the utmost speed out of them by finding the most direct route across trackless water.

Merchants

To modern ears, a merchant means a man who buys and sells goods. In the Golden Age, however, the merchants were very much more than that. They were the capitalists; they owned the ships. They were adventurers; they accepted the hazard of foreign trade, casting their substance upon the water in the hope that, after many days, it would return augmented. And they were mighty powers politically. Before, during, and for a generation or two after the Revolution, they ruled supreme. They were lords and masters in fact and form. Many of them had served apprenticeship at sea and they brought the aristocracy of the quarter deck into their homes, their counting-rooms and their political activities. With an iron rod they ruled the electorate. Their merest nod was an order. Why not? Until industry grew large enough to stand on its own feet, they were the only employers; they could make and break a man; put him on the road to fortune or cast him into poverty. They were the sole source of employment, the only fountain of prosperity. Who, with eyes in his head and able to see where his bread was buttered, dared dispute them?

In the main this was advantageous for Massachusetts as a Colony and as a State. The wealth they created supported the government, the schools, the theatre, and provided culture. And it did more than that later. Their accumulated capital provided the means of opening the West and developing it. Really, in sober truth, though the Massachusetts merchant marine, as such, is no more, its influence is still felt, for the men it created created the nation.

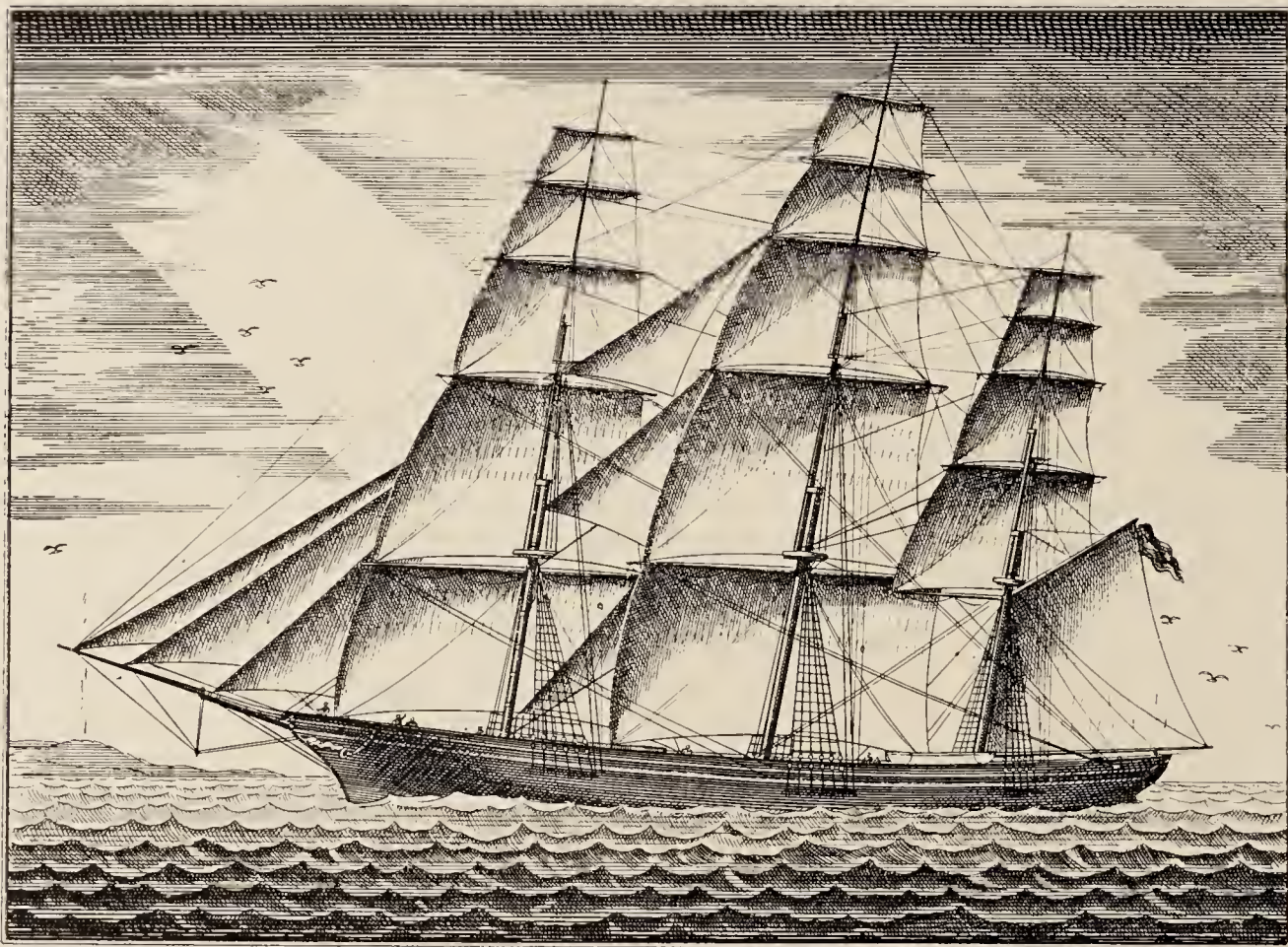
Gold and the Clipper

1850-1860

"The Clipper!" There is a world of romance in the word and a vision of the fairest handiwork of all mankind appears. Sleek and trim black hulls, sharp of bows, delicate of beam and shapely of stern, with great clouds of snowy canvas towering aloft, seemingly as delicate as silken tissue and yet sturdy enough to catch all the winds of heaven

and hold them close embraced while they drove the careening ship faster than ever vessel went before. Those were the clippers, so many Aphrodites, born fully formed from the sea and the idol of all sailors' dreams.

Unlike the slow development of shipping which characterized the preceding century, the growth of the true clippers was miraculous. They were born directly of one thing—gold. In the winter of 1848, the precious metal was discovered in abundance at Sutter's Mill, Cali-



"FLYING CLOUD"

Built in East Boston in 1850

Courtesy of The First National Bank of Boston

fornia. Gold! it was a magic word and it worked magic in the entire social structure of America. Men by the thousands deserted their ploughs and tools, their desks and their books, and raced for El Dorado. And a race it was!

Overnight, speed became the one thing demanded of transportation. Overland across three thousand miles of wearisome and dangerous trail arose the goal. Hardship and incredibly slow progress attended this route. The sea, particularly for New England, seemed and was the better path, although it meant beating around Cape Horn through the stormiest seas in the world.

At first only the slowest and oldest ships were available, but in 1849 from Boston alone 150 ships cleared for San Francisco and a year later even more, while others departed from nearly every port of any size along the coast. Naturally, the gigantic human tide which piled up upon the California shore created a demand for food and tools and materials of all descriptions. Ship-owners, delighted by the soaring prices, expressed every vessel that would float with full cargoes and, naturally, netted tremendous profits. In fact, it is said that the average man who tended to commerce and to buying and selling made far more money than the average man who toiled and sweated in the hunt for the yellow metal.

At this time the average passage around the Horn was five months, about 160 days. In July, 1894, the little *Sea Witch*, the first real clipper, built in New York, made the passage in but 97 days. With such profits available, the news of this passage spread like fire to every merchant in the East and instantly came a demand for clippers. New York had opened with the ball but Boston seized it on a fumble and carried it thereafter ahead of the field, developing the clipper with a mastery that was genuine genius.

The first clippers were built in 1850, the *Surprise*, 183 feet long and about 39 feet beam; and the *Game Cock*, 190 feet long and 40 feet beam. Samuel Hall of East Boston, was the builder, an old-timer who started out with a capital of but 25 cents, so it is said. On her first voyage, the *Surprise* clipped a whole day from the *Sea Witch's* record.

Donald McKay, whom the world knows as the one master builder of all time, sent his first real clipper, the *Staghound*, down the ways in 1850. She was 209 feet long and about 40 feet wide. She was an able ship, making the distance from Boston to the Equator in but 13 days, a record no other ship has equalled.

McKay's ship next was the *Flying Cloud*, probably the most famous ship that has ever been constructed. A little more than 40 feet beam and 229 feet in length, she was one of the fastest ships the world has seen. She made San Francisco from New York on her maiden voyage in 89 days. This record was twice equalled, but never bettered, and the ship also is the outstanding one for consistently fast passages, having the best averages for the 'Frisco run in all sailing-ship history.

Some of her other records are marks to shoot at today even with fast steamships. In 24 hours, the *Flying Cloud* once made 374 miles; in four consecutive days, she sailed 1,256 miles, an average of 314 miles a day. It is a fast steamer today that can do as well.

McKay built many other clippers in the few years of the clipper

boom. Their names are enshrined in marine history for all time. What sailor is there but worships the memory of the *Lightning*, the *Great Republic*, the *Glory of the Seas*, the *Sovereign of the Seas*, *Westward Ho*, and the *Flying Fish*—for example. Some of these were faster than the *Flying Cloud* and more were larger, but none of them ever equalled the *Cloud* for consistent excellence of delivery under all conditions. The palm goes to the *Flying Cloud*, the fastest ship ever built for long voyages.

It is difficult even today to realize how important these ships were. For example, modern racing yachts are the ultimate designs of the hour. Yet their speed, when it passes 15 knots, is something we grow excited about. Contrast the *Lightning*, probably the fastest ship ever built. In 1857 she did 18.2 knots. It is said that the *James Baines* once did 21 knots in a furious hour.

Although McKay was the genius of clipper ship-building, he was not the only master builder. There were a dozen others, among them the Briggs Brothers of South Boston, whose *Northern Light* hung up an all time record of 76 days from San Francisco to Boston. Of course, due to the prevailing wind directions, the eastward trip from 'Frisco is swifter than the outward so this record did not compare with the *Flying Cloud's* westward all-time record.

Robert Jackson of East Boston was another celebrated builder, whose *Queen of the Seas* is almost as noted as the *Flying Cloud*. Medford built many well-known clippers as did Newburyport. It is said that the Newburyport clippers excelled in workmanship, and the *Dreadnaught*, built by Currier and Townsend there, was a "saucy wild packet," which made more than three score trips across the Atlantic and made several remarkable runs from here to Liverpool under two weeks.

Although many of the Boston-built clippers were owned in other ports, and never came home after once sailing away, Boston was the registry of many and probably Boston Harbor was never such a lively port as in the first few years of the 50's when the clippers were in their glory.

The speed of the clippers is well known but the Massachusetts builders have not received due credit for their honesty of workmanship. In the days when speed was the watchword, there must have been a great temptation to skimp on materials and craftsmanship. Yet, despite this pressure, Massachusetts vessels were honestly built. Copper-fastened and sheathed, and constructed of the best oak obtainable, no skimping was ever practiced. Even the last details of finishing were meticulously attended to. Planed and sandpapered as smooth as satin,

the upper hulls were painted a dull, velvety black. Pine decks were stoned snowy white and many rare and beautiful woods were used in the superstructure and the cabins. Great improvements were made in the mechanical details of the rigging. In fact, neither time nor money were ever spared in the feverish and fanatical dream of making the Massachusetts clipper the most sea-worthy and beautiful as well as the fastest ship afloat.

In 1855, the clipper ship reached its zenith with the *James Baines*. Built for the Liverpool packet service, she is said to be the most perfect sailing ship ever built. Her speed was phenomenal; she made the record sailing-ship crossing of the Atlantic in twelve and a quarter days. But her beauty was even more glorious. With 34 sails, including the rare moonsail, in addition to skysails and skysail-studding sails, she excited admiration even from envious Britons.

The *Lightning*, born about the same time, was the fastest sailing ship McKay or anyone ever built. Long and very low, with an astonishingly sharp and hollow bow, she was delicate in appearance but as fiery as her name implied. In one day, off the coast of Ireland, with strong gales that put her lee deck under water and must have stirred the most experienced heart, she tore off in twenty-four hours *four hundred and thirty-six miles*. That is a speed that probably the average ocean liner today cannot equal under ordinary conditions and probably but very few can excel, despite their turbines and all the refinements of modern marine engineering and naval draughtsmanship.

CONCLUSION

By 1854, the clipper was already doomed. The gold rush gave birth to it, the gold rush supported it, but once the gold rush ebbed, it became evident that the clipper was finished. The simple fault of clipper ships was that they could not carry enough cargo to return a profit on their cost and operating expense. By 1857, when Boston's marine prosperity was at its height this sad fact was known to everyone, and although new ships retained the fine, clean lines of the clipper, they were designed to carry more cargo and that meant the end of speed.

Undoubtedly Boston would have continued to build finer ships had not two things happened. One was the depression of 1857 which stifled Boston trade completely. For two years business was flat on its back and then, just as it showed signs of revival, the Civil War came. Probably, had this War come a decade earlier it would not have made any difference. But coming just at the time when steam replaced sail, it caused Massachusetts to fall behind, lose its prominent position and ultimately close the chapter of marine history.

Not that Massachusetts and Boston are not still today important in shipping; but the State never recovered its former interest, and with the aid of national development, such as industrial expansion, international trade and finance and the like, simply merged itself into the United States Merchant Marine and so lost its identity.

A great deal has been written about the pig-headedness of Massachusetts in neglecting steam. It is, in the writer's opinion, a mistaken attitude. Unquestionably, there were merchants who stuck to sail as long as they could buy a shingle and find a dollar with which to freight it. But, these were in the minority and they were not the progressive element. Had the ocean still been as attractive a field for adventure, romance and profit, doubtless the progressive blood of the Old Bay State, would have leaped into steam and recovered to the State its marine leadership. But, such was not the case. Other and better opportunities presented themselves. For the adventurous and the romantic, there was the Great West to exploit, and for those who simply wished to put their money to work, the gigantic development of industry and manufacturing offered greater safety and much larger returns per dollar invested, as compared with shipping.

As Samuel Eliot Morison says, "Many an old shipowner's ledger, that begins with tea and indigo and sixteenth-shares of the ship *Canton Packet* and brig *Owhyhee*, ends up by recording large blocks of C. B. & Q., and Calumet and Hecla."

BOOKS TO READ

The best book about Massachusetts ships and sailors is Professor Samuel Eliot Morison's *The Maritime History of Massachusetts*, Boston, Houghton and Mifflin. It is both accurate and interesting, complete and delightful. W. L. Marvin's *History of the American Merchant Marine* and John R. Spears' *The Story of the American Merchant Marine* are valuable also. The State Street Trust Company, Boston, has a group of interesting publications. R. D. Paine's *Ship and Sailors* is charming. For the clipper ship, Captain Arthur Clark's *Clipper Ship Era* is without peer. In addition, there is a great mass of special reports, journals, logs and articles which, although some of them are not published, are available to the reader at the Peabody Museum, Salem, The Essex Institute, Salem, The Bostonian Society (the Old State House) and many other places. Massachusetts is rich in historical material, particularly in relation to her shipping. A whole life-time could be profitably and delightfully spent in reading the material available.

CHAPTER LIII

Fisheries

Over the assembled House of Representatives in the State House, gleaming in gold, hangs a cod fish. Carved from a single block of wood, it, and its predecessors, have graced the deliberations of the lower house ever since the body existed. Tradition has it that the first fish was presented to the provincial assembly in the 17th century by Judge Samuel Sewall but there is no record of it, for probably both fish and record went up in smoke when the old Old State House burned, December 9, 1747.

Undoubtedly a new fish was carved for the new Old State House which, erected in 1748, stands today, but there is no record of it until 1773 when the Province of Massachusetts Bay received a bill from Thos. Crafts, Jr., reading:

To painting codfish.....15 shillings.

During the Revolution, the famous fish vanished. Its fate is unknown, although a writer has alleged that it was used to provide a British watch-fire.

However, in 1784, a new fish was carved and gilded and hung up as the symbol of the State. This fish, which may have been carved by John Welch, is the fish of the present day. It has not enjoyed a quiet career. Not only was it moved to Beacon Hill but it was moved about within the Chamber there from place to place, seemingly alternating from glory over the Speaker's desk to obscurity over the rear gallery.

In 1895, when the House moved into its present quarters, great ceremony was attached to the moving of the fish. Not only was its history compiled and published (at the tax-payers' expense) but speeches were made upon the occasion and a committee of fifteen appointed to keep a watchful and ceremonious eye upon the Sergeant-at-Arms and his staff as they moved the sacred symbol.

However, the fish has not always, even in modern times, enjoyed reverent attention, for, in 1934, a group of college boys stole the

image while everyone was sleeping through some period of impassioned oratory.

The theft, of course, created a great disturbance. Detectives of the State Police, Department of Public Safety, and the Attorney General's office rushed about and issued statements. Then, suddenly, the matter was hushed up and the fish re-appeared. Officially no one knows anything about its absence.

It was not only the value which age and tradition often attach to a symbol, that so stirred the State when the fish was stolen, for the fish really does stand as the emblem of the state to a far higher degree than the Indian which graces the Great Seal. Long ago, a British essayist wrote, "If Massachusetts ever had a tutelary genius among the brute creation, it was the codfish." And Mr. Charles Francis Adams, recently writing about the importance of the fisheries in the history of New England, said of the cod fish, "They were to us what wool was to England or tobacco to Virginia—the great staple which became the basis of power and wealth."

In sober truth, many a provincial fortune was established upon the cod-fisheries, and the "cod-fish aristocracy" long preceded both the "merchant princes" and the later "lords of the loom." Edmund Burke, even before the Revolution, recognized the importance of the fisheries and, speaking of the "wealth which the colonies have drawn from the sea," a wealth which he declared had excited the envy of Britain, he exclaimed in Parliament, "Pray, sir, what in the world is equal to it? Pass by the other parts, and look at the manner in which the people of New England have of late carried on their fisheries. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice and behold them penetrating into the deepest recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis Straits, whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic Circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold, that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the South . . . No sea but what is vexed by their fisheries, no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this most perilous mode of hardy industry to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people,—a people who are still, as it were, but in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood."

This panegyric was delivered 150 years after the colony was founded. What would Burke say today, now that another 150 years have passed, if he could behold Massachusetts' present position in the world's fisheries, a proud leadership which puts the state in the van of

the world? Annually in the two ports of Boston and Gloucester, more than four hundred millions of pounds of fish are landed, a catch running in value from seven to ten million dollars depending upon seasonal conditions and upon the fluctuations of prices. And, in addition, Massachusetts owned and manned vessels also unload hundreds of thousands of pounds of fish in other ports along the coast as, particularly during the spring, they follow the schools of mackerel up and down, and race for the nearest market as soon as a catch is made.

This great industry sprang from the humblest beginnings; in fact it owes its origin to sheer, stark necessity. The colonists came here earnest to found freedom of conscience and to win independence of their narrow limitations at home. They believed that in this great new world they could "readily better their condition." Doubtless many of the smaller gentry and younger sons risked their capital and their lives in the hope of creating immense feudal estates in the wilderness.

But Massachusetts soon put that idea out of their heads. In simple language, it was economically impossible. Once a cabin was built, once the virgin soil was cleared and crops harvested, it was all too evident that agriculture did not offer a road to wealth.

Thus, looking about, Plymouth and Boston discovered that there was a road to wealth already opened. At Gloucester, since 1623, fishermen had been harvesting the cod and at Marblehead, where a group from Cornwall settled, fishing was the only interest—not even religion or politics concerned them. And what is more, these towns were waxing wealthy, for they had discovered that they had a ready market for their salted and sun-dried fish not only with other colonies but with all Western Europe and the West Indies.

Consequently, Massachusetts turned to the sea and the pursuit of the cod. And the return was phenomenal, for the salt water was literally teeming with fish. One of the colonists, Francis Higginson wrote, "The abundance of sea-fish are (sic) almost beyond believing, and sure I should scarce have believed it, except I had seen it with mine own eyes. I saw great store of whales and grampusses and such abundance of mackerels that it would astonish one to behold, likewise codfish in abundance on the coast, and in their season are plentifully taken. There is a fish called bass, a most sweet and wholesome fish as ever I did eat; it is altogether as good as our fresh salmon and the season of their coming was begun when we first came to New England in June, and so continued about three months' space. Of this fish our fishers take many hundreds together, which I have seen lying on the shore to my admiration: yea, their nets ordinarily take more than

they are able to haul to land, and for want of boats and men they are constrained to let many go after they have taken them, and yet sometimes they fill two boats at a time with them. And, besides bass, we take plenty of scate and thornbacks and abundance of lobsters, and the least boy in the plantation may both catch and eat what he will of them. For my own part I was soon cloyed with them, they were so great and fat, and luscious. I have seen some myself that weighed sixteen pounds; but others have, divers times, seen great lobsters as have weighed twenty five pounds, as they assure me. Also here is abundance of herring, turbut, sturgeon, cusks, haddocks, mullets, eels, crabs, mussels and oysters. Besides, there is probability that the country is of excellent temper for the making of salt; for since our coming our fishermen have brought home very good salt, which they found candied, by the standing of the sea-water and the heat of the sun, upon a rock by the sea-shore; and in divers salt marshes that some have gone through, they have found some salt in some places crushing under their feet and cleaving to their shoes."

With such an opportunity, both in the abundance of the fish and the readiness of the market, it is small wonder that all New England that was not engaged in preaching or farming took to the sea. Early, the business divided into two portions. The business of exporting the fish grew apace as trade, founded upon cargoes of fish, flourished mightily. From this beginning sprang the state's once magnificent merchant marine—which is another story.

The business of catching fish proved less profitable perhaps, but it was far more stable because, although the tall ships have long since vanished, fishermen catch their livelihoods as abundantly today as ever.

At first, the fishing was done in canoes or dory-type small boats rowed and sailed a few hours from shore. There was no need to be more enterprising at first, for, as it is recorded in the annals of Gloucester, "in less than two hours, with a few hooks, sixty seven codfish (were taken), most of them very great fish, some a yard and a half long and a yard in compass."

But larger boats could carry more "hooks" and return larger profits so, very early, every little village and town along shore, every settlement with water enough to float a keel out of the mud, began building fishing ships. Shallops, sloops, Chebacco boats, pinkies, ketches and schooners—the list is a long one and displays an amazing ability to design and construct better and larger vessels down the years. The first schooners were considered marvels as, unlike the square rigged ships, which came across the Atlantic in numbers to join in the harvest of the New England waters, they could tack very quickly and point up

into the wind miraculously. These early schooners were square bowed, high sterned and fitted with squat masts and heavy spars but they were able and became the ancestors of the present "Gloucesterman" the slim, sleek, schooner of the present which, small though it may be, can outsail anything afloat and ride as dry as a duck through the dirtiest weather.

The development of the industry was rapid. In 1634, Marblehead had eight boats at work and within a year Portsmouth, then a part of the Colony, had fishing "six great shallops, five fishing boats with sails, anchors and cables, and thirteen skiffs." In 1641 Governor Winthrop reported that three hundred thousand dried fish were exported. The Great and General Court was soon made aware of the value of the infant industry and was led to pass an act exempting from all duties and public taxes all estates employed in catching, curing and transporting fish. All fishermen and all shipbuilders were also excused from the onerous duty of military training. Perhaps this is the first example of the great American practice of subsidizing and encouraging a business at the expense of the taxpayer.

This official encouragement supplied the final spur, if any was necessary, to the business and the fleets grew rapidly. In 1741, a Gloucester record—and it must be remembered that Gloucester was but one of a score of important fishing towns of the day—states that three score and ten fishing schooners were operating. Each man, the record continues to say, kept his tally by cutting out the tongues of the fish he caught. At the end of the day, the tongues were delivered to the captain of the vessel, who counted them, and entered the number in the ship's log. At the end of the voyage, the days were totaled and each man's lay, or wage for the voyage, was figured in proportion to the number of fish he caught. In 1751, the schooner *Abigail*, Captain Paul Hughes, caught 27,036 fish. The "high line," incidentally, Captain Hughes, tallied 6,643 fish; the "low line," whose name is not to be found, hooked only 3,435 fish.

Newburyport, Ipswich, Salem, Beverly, Lynn, Boston, Scituate, Plymouth—all down the length of the shore, similar fleets were busy. Speaking of Salem, Captain Francis Goelet wrote in 1750, ". . . the trade consists chiefly of the Cod Fishery; they have sixty or seventy sail schooners employed . . . They cure all their own cod." Writing of Beverly, another man remarked that so much of the area of the town was taken up with frames for drying split fish that the citizens had no room at all in their house-lots for gardens and that, from a distance, the town looked in mid-summer as if it were drifted with snow, so thickly were the drying racks covered with fish.

This must have been a "fragrant" business, too, for one of the staple forms of export was "dun fish." This sort was manufactured by allowing the larger cod to ripen until mellow before final drying. This mellowing was commonly accomplished by burying the fish in the ground between "spells" on the frames.

About 1750, after more than a hundred years of practically uninterrupted development, the industry fell upon its first evil days—a habit it has practiced with alarming regularity ever since.

The wars of the period were responsible for the first set-back. France and England were busy fighting and not only were fishing and trading schooners captured and harassed but the local developments of the conflict in North America drew heavily upon the ranks of the fishermen for soldiers and sailors.

Hardly had fishing recovered from this unfortunate experience than the Revolution came along. At the time, the industry was very flourishing. The annals of Gloucester, for example, which may be taken as typical of all the other fishing towns, record that every year some eighty fishing schooners were sailing for the Grand Banks and fishing all summer, while they spent the winter trading with Europe and the West Indies. In addition, nearly a hundred Chebacco boats (which were small, two-masted craft so named because they were built in Chebacco Parish, now Essex and which were distinguished from schooners in that they carried neither topmasts nor bow-sprits and were innocent of shrouds) fished in-shore for cod, hake and pollock on the ledges off Cape Anne and the banks not far from the shore.

To all this the Revolution made an end. The Continental Army and the privateers absorbed the idle fishermen. Thus no particular hardship was experienced as long as the war endured but, with the signing of peace, a desperate depression settled down. Folks actually starved and the rest managed somehow to keep alive "by taking in each other's washing."

The recovery was eventually accomplished after much suffering in two distinct forms.

The first return of prosperity came to the "shore fisheries" and by 1800 more than two hundred Chebacco boats gave employment to probably a thousand Gloucester men alone. So flourishing did the business become that new and better boats were needed and the "pinkie" was developed. These were larger boats, twenty tons or more and had sharp and tall "pink" sterns. A tiller was used instead of a rudder and a fireplace was usually built just aft of the foremast for cooking. Sails were of hemp and so loosely woven that it was the duty of the crew, when idle, to keep them wet down so that the fabric would

"hold the wind." No charts, chronometers or other instruments guided the pilots of these craft. They "smelled" their way about. Every April, the pinks, after an idle winter, would be hauled up on the beach and after being tarred and caulked enough to be "reasonably tight" would be pulled off at high tide to begin the season's fishing. They operated on a weekly schedule, sailing Sunday night or Monday morning and returning on Saturday. For the week, the following provision list was common: "seven pounds of hard crackers, four pounds of flour, five pounds of salt pork, two quarts of molasses, a barrel of water and as much rum as the liberality of the owner provided." Rum, of course, in those days was both food and drink. Everybody drank it and in wage contracts, particularly in ship-building yards, it formed a part of the pay. It was issued two or three times a day usually at the rate of about eight ounces a time.

The second form of prosperity came when in 1783, after years of wrangling and miles of diplomatic red taping, Great Britain finally consented to allow the Yankee fishermen to return to the Grand Banks. This concession was a remarkable victory for America and it was due principally to the energy and determination of John Adams. Franklin and Jay had, of course, fought for fishing rights but without success until Adams declared that peace was impossible until the freedom of the Banks was yielded. The British readily enough granted the freedom of the seas but held to the three mile limit, which closed the Banks for practical purposes. Adams would not yield and eventually so wearied the lordly British Commissioners that they gave in.

Then, for nearly 30 years, the Banks schooners flourished. As a rule three trips were made a year. Most of the fish were brought home to be cured, after being salted down on board but, occasionally, particularly when a good fare was obtained quickly on the spring voyage, the cargo would be landed on "any of the unsettled bays, harbors and creeks" as Adams' labors had made possible, and "leaving a member or two of the crew to dry it and protect it," the ship would return to the Banks for another catch.

Principally, the spring catch was cod and haddock, the summer, hake, and the fall, pollock. Oddly enough there was no market for halibut—which is today just about the best fish caught. If one of the flat monsters did manage to fasten himself to a hook, he was pulled aboard reluctantly and, after a few choice steaks were sliced off, dumped over-board. These steaks would either be eaten or smoked over the wooden fire-place to be stored away for winter use at home.

The few stores carried by the "shore fishermen," were naturally

augmented, largely by the addition of rice, salt beef, beans and tea. Sunday was always a special day and was always strictly observed by being as idle and eating and drinking as much as possible.

These fishermen were bold, rough men and as independent as "a pig on ice." They did not make good merchant sailors; captains in the marine always preferred landsmen, raw though they might be, to well salted fishermen, because the fishermen would not accept discipline. Their courage, their seamanship and their stoutness were admired but they knew too much and were never bashful about telling merchant captains how to run their ships.

The fishermen were really a race apart. The boys were born to the work. Long before they went to school, the lads lived about the harbor, swarming over every vessel that made port and, between times, learning to row and to fish with handlines from the wharves. At six or seven, the boys were taught how to cure fish and soon, their mothers took them in hand and taught them the gentle art of cooking. For cooking was the apprenticeship to fishing. By the time the boys were ten or twelve they were signed on as ships' cooks and sailed away for the Banks. In a few years they graduated to manhood and had "lines" of their own.

From then on, their one thought was to have a large enough lay each year to "lay up" a little, so as to eventually either buy a share in a vessel or own one completely. Some did accomplish this but, since fishing was never an easy road to wealth, most were foredoomed to failure; hauling their lines on the Banks until age and rheumatism reduced their usefulness. Then, after a few years of easier shore fishing they finally descended to a pitiful old age "puttering" about with lobster pots and a clam hoe.

Fishermen's clothes were almost a uniform. The old time monkey jacket was topped off with a tarpaulin hat for ordinary wear and, when engaged in fishing, they tied around the familiar leather apron and pulled on high fishing boots.

But, most of all, the marked independence of habit singled out the fishermen. The business appealed to individualists. The merchant service called for large expenditures of capital and commonly cooperative investment. The fishermen did not have the first to invest and disliked the latter. Fishing however, required but a small investment and made it possible for every man to work "on his own hook." This expression, which has become part of the idiom of America, was a literal statement of fact in the early fishing, for it meant the system under which each man was not merely paid in proportion to what he actually caught but also supplied his own bedding, food and clothing

as well as hooks and lines. The owners of the vessel simply received a fixed share for their investment; the officers received a little more for their extra responsibility—all the remainder of the profits, if any, were divided among the men as they had earned them.

Jefferson's Embargo and the War of 1812 again not only checked the prosperity of the fisheries but came very near to ruining them. In fact, it did ruin most of the sea-coast towns and villages, particularly Marblehead. The business came to a standstill and gaunt poverty walked abroad. When peace came, hundreds of vessels were lost and many fishermen had turned to other work, never to return to the old "harvesting of the sea."

But Gloucester and Boston and the men of Cape Cod (for a time) struggled against their poverty and lack of vessels and finally rebuilt their shattered business. It never again regained its leadership as the first industry of the State however, not because it did not develop but simply because industry and trade and other occupations outstripped it in importance.

The business after 1812 was established thus upon a solid foundation. It became secondary in size but it found its place as the provider of a staple article of food and commerce and though in hard times it has suffered, in good times it has always recovered its ground. As improvements came along, the fishermen adopted them—steam has replaced the sailing schooner in part, in the trawlers which sweep the ocean floor like a farmer raking his hay field, and the gas engine has driven the old seamanship into discard—but still thousands of families are dependent upon the industry and, though the living is often poor, the work difficult and perilous, it is firmly established in New England life—just as much so as farming itself.

The first improvement in fishing craft came long after the War of 1812. The pinkie ruled the sea unchallenged until the glorious comet of the clipper ship startled the world. Fishermen too began to find that it would pay them to build faster ships and so they sharpened their bows, lowered their sterns and lifted their spars.

However fishermen are a conservative folk and the idea grew slowly. The first real "clipper schooner" owned in Gloucester raised a storm of protest. Women begged their husbands not to sail in her and, as she finally slipped below the horizon bound for the Banks, public prayers were said for her safety. But, in an amazingly fast time, she came home again and her crew could not sing her praises loudly enough. Immediately other "clippers" were ordered and so the present day Gloucesterman evolved—slim, sleek, able schooners that ask no favors of any weather.

Passengers today on the floating hotels, that are called "liners," may happen to look over-side as their colossi plow through the Banks fog and catch sight of a tiny black speck far below. They feel moved to pity the fisherman "risking his life in such discomfort." The fishermen do risk their lives but not in discomfort—for the schooners are dry and far easier than any liner ever built. The risk comes not from the sea, which they have mastered, but from the liners themselves. Many a time, in a ghostly fog, the fisherman lookout has heard a blast of a whistle, rung his bell or tooted his horn frantically, only to hear shortly a great roaring of waters and to see a knife-edged wall of steel, speeding at better than forty miles an hour (schedules must be kept regardless of fog) loom up, tower over him and crash not into but straight through his wooden ship. A few minutes later, there is nothing on the oily sea but a few fragments of wood and perhaps the look-out's Sou'wester. The liner is miles away; the fishermen, most of them never awakened, a mile down.

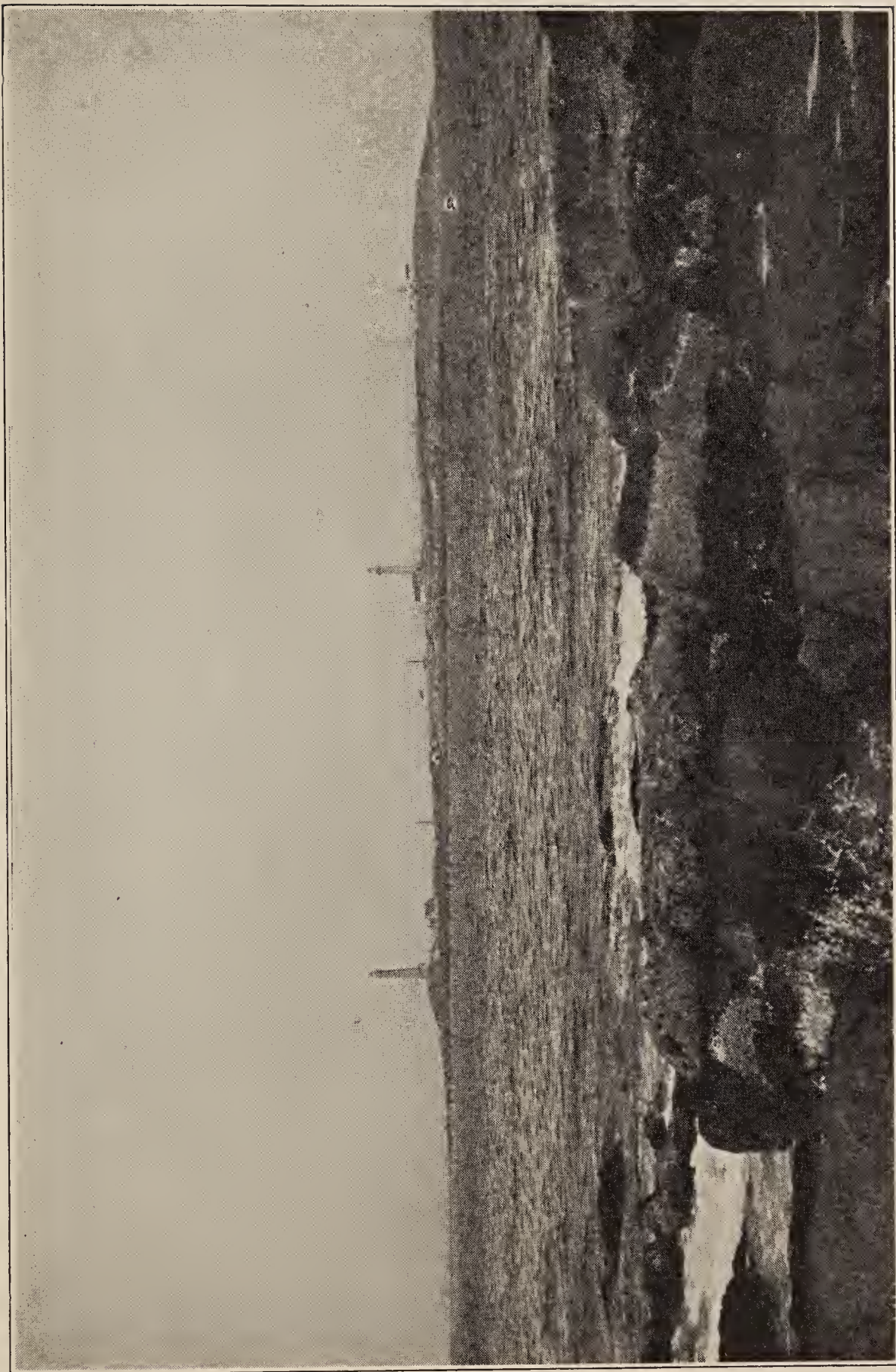
Coincident with the improvement in design and construction of the schooners came a change in fishing habits. In the old days, fish were caught "over the rail." The practice was, when a school of cod was encountered, to anchor the boat or point it into the wind and all hands drop lines overboard to fish as long as possible. When forced to quit, the men joined in cleaning the fish, those who were not engaged in navigating or cooking or whatever, and then in stowing them away with plenty of salt in the hold.

This however was not an efficient practice, for the earning power of a man was limited by the number of hooks he could keep busy and also, by the fact that his catch was limited to the area immediately around the schooner, where everyone else was fishing too.

Then some genius thought of putting out from the schooner in dories, one or two men in a boat. The dory, for all that it is heavy and clumsy, is a perfect all weather boat; in the hands of a man strong enough to keep the tiny craft's nose pointed into the sea, no waves are big enough to bother them or winds strong enough to turn them over.

This spreading out of the fishing area resulted in increased catches but a man was still limited to a few hooks. Another genius began increasing the numbers of hooks on his line and then, history does not record who the master was, the trawl was invented. The trawl is generally a stout line at least a thousand fathoms or more in length. At intervals, from this line, short lengths are fastened on at right angles and each armed with a hook; normally each trawl will carry three to four thousand of these hooks.

The modern manner of using the trawl, a practice which has not



GLOUCESTER—THATCHER'S ISLAND
Only twin lighthouse towers along the Atlantic Coast today

Courtesy of the Gloucester Chamber of Commerce

changed much probably in several generations, is this: arrived at a "likely ground," the schooner drops two men in a dory with a trawl. This, the men set by dropping it overboard as they row away from the course of the ship at right angles, something of a job, you may be certain. Meanwhile, the schooner, with her motor stopped usually, and a scrap of sail set, drifts down the wind and, at mile intervals or so, drops other dories, one after the other, until everyone is at work and only the captain and the cook, or "doctor" is left on board.

Then, circling around, the schooner returns and picks up the first dory a few hours later. If the trawl, when hauled, brings in a good catch, the first dory crew takes a fresh trawl and sets to work to pay that out, while the schooner sails along the line picking up trawls and passing out new, freshly baited ones. So the work proceeds as long as the fishing is good. If the ground proves barren, all the dories are picked up and new "ground" sought.

A more difficult way to earn a living could hardly be selected. The work itself is laborious in the extreme. Picture yourself set adrift in mid-ocean in a small boat with a mile of hooks to put out, a mile of hooks which must be handled very skillfully, first anchored and then paid out in a straight line and buoyed at intervals to keep the trawl afloat. Finally, when the last fathom is paid out, and a short waiting period passed, the mile of hooks must be hauled aboard again, slowly and skillfully so as to keep the long line from becoming snarled; a job complicated by occasional fish—great, thrashing fish, which usually must be stunned before they can be unhooked. And all this not in a placid pond but out in the ocean with great waves constantly lifting, waves a quarter of a mile from crest to crest, waves which lift the wee dories high aloft and then sink them down into the depths. And all this not in bright sunny weather as a rule but in rain, in wind, in snow and in fog.

The tragedy of the Banks is the lost dory. No one can ever count the dories which have been dropped with their trawls from schooners and never seen again. Perhaps storm overwhelms them, but usually it is the deadly fog which, shutting down, makes it impossible for the mother schooner to ever find her chicks among the strong, treacherous and shifting currents which flood across the Banks.

Tales of heroism and peril are common. Probably that of Howard Blackburn is the classic example of the Banks dory fisherman. On January 25, 1883, he put out from the schooner, *Grace L. Fears*, with his mate, Thomas Welch. Fog, the sudden, diabolical fog of the Banks, which suddenly appears without warning or reason, overwhelmed them and the schooner lost sight of them. They anchored to wait for the

fog to lift. At last, hours later, when darkness had long since fallen, they caught a swift glimpse of the riding lights of some vessel to windward.

They knew that the ship could not see them and they tried to row to it but the wind, which rapidly increased to gale force, was dead against them and they could not make any progress. Improvising a sea anchor, they lay to—all that night, all the next day and all the next night. Blackburn lost his mittens overboard and his hands froze to his oars.

Welch became delirious and died. Blackburn tried to take Welch's mittens, but his own hands had frozen around the handles of the oars in such a fashion that it was impossible for him to pull Welch's mittens over the hooked fingers.

During the third day the wind moderated and alone in a deserted ocean, Blackburn started to pull for land. The oars directly rubbed the frozen flesh from his fingers but the fisherman pulled doggedly away with his hands soon reduced to mere bone and tendon, the blood-vessels kept from draining away his life because they froze as swiftly as the shredding away of the frozen flesh opened them.

At night fall, Blackburn thought he discovered the dim smudge of land ahead so, putting out his drag again, he lay to all night. In the morning the smudge of grey had vanished but, suffering agony that cannot be described, once again he put out his oars, clutched what remained of his hands about the oars and pulled away all day. By nightfall, he did see land again, certainly this time, but it was too far away to reach in the darkness so, once again, he lay to his sea-anchor all night.

In the morning, although he had drifted out to sea somewhat during the hours of darkness, the land was still in sight and by nightfall he grounded his dory on the beach only to find the place deserted. A shack, which had aroused his hopes as he staggered up over the shingle and through drifted snow, proved to be abandoned and all night he walked its floor to keep warm enough so that he would not freeze to death. For food and for drink, he had nothing but snow, snow which must have been salted with his blood as he scooped it up with the strings of bones that had been his hands.

Next morning, he shoved off again and, probably only partly conscious, pulled along the shore until, near the end of the day, he arrived off the village of Little River. He was seen. A rescue party set out and brought him ashore, still alive.

For five days he had existed somehow in his dory, alone save for the body of his dead mate. Medical aid arrived in time to prevent

blood poisoning finishing what cold, exposure and fatigue had begun but medical science could not save his hands.

All such experiences do not have such endings. Empty dories, or dories with two frozen bodies in them, are still picked up all too frequently and who knows but what the stilled forms were once men who struggled as bravely and toiled as doggedly as did Blackburn, only to fail where he succeeded.

And even when the dories are safely nested aboard the schooners, the fishermen are not always safe, especially during winter months when wild nor'east blizzards rage. Given sea-room enough, the schooners are safe no matter how the storms blow but sometimes, even now when every vessel has its gas engine as well as its sails, a sudden storm may surprise them too near shore. If they can come about and beat off into deep water, if the motors can screw them away from shore, they are safe. But now and then, wind, tide and currents are too much for seamanship and science, and the rocks claim another victim to add to the hundreds of vessels and the thousands of lives who have as their epitaph, "Lost at sea."

Modern vessels are larger of late years and the gas engine has greatly reduced the hazard, but when fishermen go out, their families never know for certain that they will ever return. Burned in the memory of every Massachusetts fisherman is the night of February 24th, 1862, when fifteen Gloucester vessels went down taking with them 120 men, men who left "seventy widows and 140 fatherless children." Again, in 1871, Gloucester alone lost nineteen vessels and 140 men. Probably such wholesale disaster will not overtake the fleets today but a gale is still a gale and fogs still blind the officers of liners as they drive through the mists across the Banks. Even the steam trawlers, stout little ships that operate in fleets out of Boston, are not secure. They have radio, even direct radio telephone service to shore, and through it, can summon aid. Coast Guard vessels race to their assistance when they lose a propellor or their engines break down or to bring medical aid when men are crushed or succumb to appendicitis for example. But the sea is still the sea and as hungry as it ever was.

Formerly cod and haddock fishing were about all that engaged the attention of the fishing fleet but today many other fish are caught. The fish landings at Boston for 1933 display this clearly:

Cod, 61,183,747 pounds; haddock, 122,885,754; hake, 5,221,258; pollock, 8,261,580; cusk, 2,498,576; halibut, 1,755,664; mackerel, 17,348,117; flounder, 9,278,542; swordfish, 1,681,304; herring, 4,105; and all others, 2,388,152—total 232,506,799 pounds.

Of these fish, the catching of two kinds is most interesting; sword-

fish and mackerel. Swordfishing is a gambling proposition but, if luck is in, a very profitable one. Most are caught during the summer on Georges Banks, off Cape Cod. A pulpit (a sort of iron cage) is built far out on the bow-sprit and from it a man scans the sea as the vessel slowly sails across the Banks. If luck is in and one of the great fish is sighted within shooting distance, the man, who is a very skilled marksman, hurls a small harpoon into its back and the fish is hauled aboard. Often a fish brings more than a hundred dollars, if the market is firm.

Some swordfish hunting is done from small power-boats or even dories, but this is a risky business as well as a gamble for the swordfish is a stout fighter and thoroughly feminine in his unaccountability. Sometimes he will fight; again he will allow himself to be hauled within clubbing and gaffing distance without a murmur only to lash into a desperate struggle the instant he strikes the side of the boat. Authentic instances are known where the fish have actually driven their long bony "swords" clean through the bottoms of dories and injured or even killed men.

Halibut, incidentally, also at times put up a vicious struggle when they are netted or caught on a trawl. Every dory has its "gob" stick to beat a halibut into insensibility, for if one is landed in a dory alive, it might thrash about and actually knock the bottom of the craft out. Most interesting too is the behavior of the halibut when one is caught in a gill net; the fisherman would rather have a shark (dogfish) caught than a halibut.

These gill nets, in passing, are an interesting modern development. Their huge, nine-inch meshes are anchored to the bottom and held upright by being attached to floats at the surface. Large fish, swimming through the net, are entangled in the light, strong nets by their gills and held securely until the net is hauled. The beauty of this gill netting is that it catches only large fish and accomplishes it without any baiting at all.

Mackerel fishing is at once an art and killing labor. It is very profitable, when a good catch of fish happens to coincide with a high market and thus, although often the ships lose money, it attracts nearly every vessel in the season.

In the early days of mackerel fishing, it was a fast and furious business. Vessels sailed across the area where swiftly swimming schools of the beautiful fish might be expected, keeping a line over the stern. Immediately upon this line hooking a mackerel, the schooner was hove-to and, a baiter, standing amidships, leaped into action, broadcasting bucketfuls of bait over the water.

If a school was about, they would scent or taste this bait (who knows whether a fish tastes or smells?) and come rushing to the ship. With feverish haste every man would drop his lines overside and, with one in each hand, haul the furiously biting fish aboard as rapidly as he could work his arms. With a single motion, the fish would be drawn aboard and snapped into a waiting barrel and then, while probably the other hand was bringing another fish aboard, the first line would be returned to the swarming school alongside. The form of line used was the "jig," invented in 1816, which was simply an ordinary hook with a strip of lead wound about it to attract the fish in the place of bait.

Sometimes when the jigs did not work, fly-lines, something like the wet fly of brook-fishing, were used. And when the surly mackerel refused even these, ordinary gaffs were used; the fish being hooked and snatched aboard just as if they were so many lumps of meat.

To add to the fast and furious activity on board the vessel there was also the competition of other vessels. As soon as one lucky ship struck a school, every other ship within sight dashed over and joined in the scramble. Shouting and cursing filled the air as vessel after vessel arrived, hauled up to leeward of the other vessels and thus attracted the school to itself, making it necessary for all the other vessels to go to leeward of it and thus regain their fish. The resulting confusion can well be imagined. Cracked heads were matched by cracked bow-sprits, shattered booms and torn sails, so furiously did the rival vessels fight for each school.

But all this never lasted very long, for the school would disappear as suddenly as it had appeared. With the passing of the school, the tumult died like magic for every fisherman had to turn to and clean his fish for two reasons; first that mackerel taints very quickly and thus must be cleaned immediately and, second, that the catch must be cleaned and packed so that the hunt for another school might begin.

First the fish were split, the splitter wearing mittens to keep the slim fish from slipping under the knife. To each splitter were two helpers, one to pass the splitter the fish and the other to pack the dressed fish in barrels of salt water. These men also wore mittens to keep their hands from being sliced to ribbons by fins and bones.

The washing of the fish in salt water is vitally important too for a split mackerel "rusts," that is, the white flesh turns red, very quickly if exposed to fresh water or air. When the fish are well washed they were packed into barrels; first a layer of salt, then a layer of fish, then salt, then fish and so on until the barrel was filled.

Today the method has changed completely. Seine nets are used

instead of lines and, while some salting is done, as a rule the fish are packed with ice and rushed to market while still fresh. The fresher they are, the higher prices they command and thus today, mackerel fishing is one half fishing and the other half racing back to port.

The schooners cruise the grounds, as in the case of swordfish, although the fleet is not confined to the Georges but ranges up and down the coast from Florida to the North. When the lookout spots a peculiar rough spot on the water, a granular appearance caused by the fish flipping their heads and tails out into the sunlight, or if he sees a dark patch, which is caused by the closely ranked school swimming along, or, if by night, he sees a field of phosphorescent light, he calls down from the mast-head and two dories at once put overside.

Nine men, or more row, with the officers steering from the sterns. As they reach the school, the seine is thrown overboard, the middle made fast to a keg and one boat darts off to the right with one end while the other boat, races off to the left with the other end. As quickly as they may, they encircle the school and, meeting, join the two ends of the seine, together while the two crews churn the open water with their oars as the net closes, to keep the milling fish from escaping.

This accomplished, the "purse" ropes are drawn, closing the bottom of the seine like a great bag. If all is well, hundreds of fish are trapped within the bag, although the mackerel is a wily fish and sometimes will swim straight down and thus escape before the purse ropes cut off his only means of exit.

Emptying the seines is no small job. Rowed back to the schooner, the fish are first lifted out onto deck with a great dip-net with a long steel handle. Finally, when most of the fish are thus bailed aboard, the seine is hauled onto deck and emptied.

This sounds very simple but it is a complicated job for the seine is often more than a quarter mile long and all of 150 feet deep and it must be so coiled and stowed back in a dory that the ends can be quickly seized and the net unfold smoothly and readily when next used.

Most of the smaller mackerel men race to shore with their catches cleaned and packed upon ice, but larger ships, particularly steamers, at times have freezing plants on board and freeze the fish solid without cleaning as soon as they are caught and thus preserve them for longer voyages, without there being any danger of a catch being lost. Frozen fish, however, do not bring such a high price as fresh fish, as the flavor is not considered equal to the latter. And at that, even fish kept on ice and rushed to market is far from being as tasty as one cooked immediately upon being caught. Really, few fish can compare with a freshly caught mackerel, one dropped from the hook into the frying pan.

Modern years have seen great changes in fishing. Gloucester has fallen into second place to Boston which is one of the great fish markets of the world. This is largely due to exporting facilities that Boston possesses and the direct rail connections with the West as well as the modern equipment for handling fish possessed by the new fish pier, down next to the great Commonwealth Pier in South Boston. Old T wharf, off Atlantic Avenue, Boston proper, has now lost all its schooners and remains merely the basin in which the Guinea fishermen tie up.

These Guinea fishermen have risen rapidly to a position of prominence in the Boston fresh fish market. They use small but sturdy power boats, painted all the colors of the rainbow, which put-put out of the harbor long before dawn each morning and return at noon with cod, smelt, mackerel, haddock, flounders, cusk and scrod caught a few miles off Boston Light. They are a class apart, scorned by the Bankers, but earning a good living for themselves. Each boat is commonly owned by a family and fathers and sons, down to the boys barely able to walk, have taken over all the shore fishing formerly done by the ancient Chebacco boats.

Side by side with the catching of fish, a great industry has grown up in Gloucester and Boston—and to some degree, in Provincetown—the industry of preparing fish for market.

The time honored salting of fish is still followed. From the vessels, the fish are pitched into wheelbarrows and trundled to the factories where “headers” decapitate the cod and haddock and where “splitters” slice them neatly into halves. Then the halves are tossed into the pickle, great butts where they are impregnated with salt. Later the halves are dipped out of the brine and spread upon the “flakes” to cure. In stormy weather, the flakes are covered with wooden shutters or boxes to keep them dry; in hot sunny weather, cloths are spread over them to keep them from “burning.”

The market intended for the fish determines the depth of the curing. For long distance export, the fish are cured until they are fairly frosted with crystallized salt and are as hard as leather. For local use, the curing is much less lengthy and the fish are soft enough to be pulled apart with the fingers.

After the desired degree of curing is attained, the skinning department takes the halves in hand. Men with keen knives quickly strip away the skin, trim the edges and remove the bones. Skins are saved for the glue factories; bones and trimmings go to fertilizer plants. Girls follow the men, pull out fragments of bone with special nippers, make sure each fish is in prime condition and sort out the various grades.

The best grade of fish is cut into definite sizes and put into presses

which mould them into bricks, while other selected pieces are packaged without being pressed. Other grades are sent to shredding machines which reduce the flesh to fiber. After being fibered, the fish are put into great presses which squeeze out all of the moisture. The resulting blocks are again ground and sifted and ground again until, in the end, really flour of cod fish results.

Gloucester seems to have a corner on the salt fish business. Practically all of the fresh fish goes to Boston but Gloucester has still a flourishing business, which exports its salt product to all parts of the world.

Herring curing is carried on mostly during the winter, as the best herring are caught in the coldest weather. Herring are washed until clean, then scalded, scales removed by hand, and the white strips strung like beads on wires and hung in great racks to dry. When well dried they are hung over slow, smoky fires, usually of sawdust, smoke which produces the fragrant "bloater." Formerly the "bloater" business was in the doldrums; prohibition nearly ruined the trade. But, repeal has awakened the trade once more and the winter winds of Gloucester are odoriferous again not only with the breath of the glue factories but with the aroma of the bloater smoke houses.

A subsidiary business is the twisting of lines and the tying of nets. In a great building, quarter ton bales of twine are fed into machines which, plus bubbling vats of tar, turn out miles upon miles of fishing lines and square yards after square yards of various kinds of nets. Not only American fishermen but Canadians and European fishermen use Gloucester made lines and in no small degree, the prosperity of the city depends upon the market for its lines and nets. Of late years, sad to relate, Japanese interests are cutting into the world market, underselling the Gloucester product. But, though business is not what it was, the city trusts that the industry can be salvaged.

Perhaps the net and twine business can follow the example of the fish processing establishments which are leaving no idea untried in their efforts to weather the stress of the times and increase their market.

One company, for example, sells by mail any kind of fish that will keep in first class condition and it has more than one hundred thousand customers. This same company cans lobsters and clams and clam chowder and even packs imported crab meat.

Another company mixes potatoes and codfish flakes into fish-cakes ready to fry and, sealing them into tin cans, sells them the world over. And they are good too; possessing the same New England flavor that only New England cooks know how to give the well-browned fish-ball, immemorial partner of the succulent baked bean.

These are but a small number of the processed fish that Massachusetts is putting on the market. Canned roe has appeared, soused mackerel are being put into cans as well as packed in buckets, tubs and barrels. Clam chowders come in both the traditional New England fashion and the heretical "New York" style, a kind polluted with tomatoes which, somehow, seems to sell. There is a flaked fish which is so prepared that it mocks much more expensive crab meat and makes a satisfactory salad. Whole salt cod, such as Grandmother used to buy by the dozen every fall and hang in the cellar for use during the winter, are still to be had but now the sacred cod is packed in all sorts of forms and containers, flaked, shredded, boned, corned, canned and what not. Ambitious advertising campaigns are conducted and, while the fresh fish business still absorbs the great portion of the product of the fleets, modern methods are steadily building up a great new market.

An example of the way in which modern methods of merchandizing builds up a demand for a processed product, which was unknown before, is shown in the business of making fillets. Sliced flounder has been known for generations and, up to about 1925, was the only fish so treated. Then someone tried selling fillets of halibut and swordfish. The idea caught the fancy of the market and other kinds of fish were introduced to the process with the result that today, the market has witnessed a phenomenal increase in fillets of all kinds. Cod, haddock and mackerel seem to have "clicked" and the outlook for the development of this form of marketing of fresh fish is very bright and encouraging too, in that, through the process of filleting, higher prices are obtained which yield a good profit on the slightly increased cost of processing and handling.

Modern business, too, is having the effect of smoothing over the traditional rivalry between the American fishermen and his Canadian brother. In the old days, the rivals used to fight on sight and it is alleged that practices were indulged in under the cover of darkness which resulted in loss of life as well as considerable damage to gear. But, what with one Gloucester firm erecting a lobster canning factory in Nova Scotia, and the Boston market absorbing quantities of Canadian caught fish as well as shell-fish, the century old bitterness is dying out.

The institution of races between crack schooners of the rival fleets has done much, also, to calm the troubled waters. Races for the international championship of the fishing fleets are held from time to time off Halifax and off Gloucester and the inbred sporting blood of both nations has made the meetings yield a welcome spirit of mutual understanding and respect.

CHAPTER LIV

Leadership in Education

Among the many contributions of Massachusetts to the development and enrichment of American institutions and ideals, probably there is nothing more outstanding than the State's leadership in education. Not only was Harvard the first college founded in English-speaking America, the Boston Latin School the first Latin grammar school in America, the grammar school at Dedham the first school supported wholly by taxation, and the Commonwealth the first to demand that parents educate their children and to require public officials to enforce the law, but the State is even more distinguished by the fact that, more than any other State, it exemplifies the American idea of education in its completest evolution.

Succinctly, in setting the pace for the development of education, Massachusetts has been the laboratory of the Nation. There is not a feature of the American school system, public or private, elementary, secondary or university, which has not, at some time or other during the past three hundred years, been either discussed or practiced, tried or denied, adopted or dismissed. In fact, the schools of Massachusetts have played the vicar for those of the other states, advancing education not only within its own boundaries but, by example and by the influence of citizens emigrating to the West, particularly, in most of the United States. The use of disciplinary and informative studies, the support and denial of corporal punishment, the education of girls as well as boys, the division of schools into grades in place of a common assembly, the union and the separation of church and State, support by taxation, evening schools, continuation schools, university extension, kindergartens, arts and trades schools, free textbooks—these are but a few of the details in which the State has, at one period or another, been active in evaluating with eventual adoption or denial. Of course, there are other states who have carried the development of certain ideas further than the Commonwealth has, and there are states which have even anticipated Massachusetts in certain practices, but, by and large, this State has enjoyed a richer, fuller, and more

prominent expansion of educational institutions and practices than has any other.

There is one point, characteristic of the State, which has served to make this experimental attitude of the Commonwealth most valuable; that is the fact that every new idea, every departure proposed, has invariably met with vehement and often bitter opposition before adoption. The conservative elements here have always been conspicuous not only for strength but for forceful volubility, precisely as the liberal elements in the State have been perennially eager and determined. The effect of this clash of wills has ever been to drive the proponents of anything new to refine and eliminate all objectionable details in order to obtain an opportunity to put the new business into practice. Thus, usually, most weaknesses have been discovered and corrected before adoption and so, in no small measure, the ultimate success of most reforms or developments has been assured. In education, no less than religion, Massachusetts' progress has always been well balanced by the flywheel of conservatism. Fads and fancies in education have had their supporters here as elsewhere, but in general, the history of education in Massachusetts has been as sober and successful as it has been rapid and advanced.

The Public School System—Plymouth, poor in both wealth and inhabitants, contributed nothing to the beginning of education in the Colony. It was the Massachusetts Bay Colonists, particularly those at Boston, who initiated, organized and developed the school system. About a thousand strong, they arrived in Boston in 1630, not to found an Utopia but to create an English state—a New England differing only from the Old England in that its established church would be purified of certain alleged abuses. They were most certainly neither fanatics nor visionaries; they were severely practical and they devoted their remarkable energies to establishing just as much of their old life as they possibly could. One of the first things they gave their attention to, once the necessities of life were obtained and secured in a reasonable measure, was the education of their children. This determination is evidenced in that fact that, out of their poverty, only six years after their arrival they voted, September and October, 1636, four hundred pounds for the establishment of Harvard. This was in reality a stupendous sum for them. Equal to the entire year's income of the government, more than half a dollar for each inhabitant of the Colony, at least two million dollars would be needed today to represent an equal appropriation. Great as this sum was for them, it was not given unthinkingly; it was passed by the voters in direct

consciousness that they were placing the corner-stone of their future Commonwealth. They knew the relation between education and the stability of the State and they were determined to make any necessary sacrifice to ensure that the infant settlement, a few narrow fields hacked out of the forest, would be stable. There is a familiar and often quoted passage in *New England's First Fruits*, which expresses this ideal: "After God had carried us safe to New England and we had builded our houses, provided necessities for our livelihood, reared convenient places for God's worship and settled the civil government, one of the first things we longed for and looked after was to advance learning and perpetuate it to posterity. . . ."

In fact, they had waited to undertake the expensive business of founding a college only until they had first established a public school. The Boston town records for April 13, 1635, contain this entry: ". . . Likewise, it was then generally agreed upon that our brother Philemon Portmort shall be entreated to become school-master, for the teaching and nourtering of children with us." Shortly Portmort was entreated and agreed and the first public school in America was founded that same year—the Boston Latin School. This school, which for fifty years was the only school in Boston, has flourished ever since and numbers among its alumni many of the most distinguished men of America. It was a small, low, frame structure at first; very unlike the present brick, stone and marble institution. It stood on what is now School Street, the site being just behind the present King's Chapel, about where the Boston City Hall now stands.

This school was not supported wholly by taxation. Funds for its establishment were obtained by private subscription and it was only partly supported by tax money. Of course, it was a public school, in that it was free to all boys, but its maintenance was accomplished by various means at different times and it was not for several years that Boston took over the entire support as a public charge. This same lack of a uniform policy is evidenced in most of the other grammar schools which were opened in the earliest days. By 1650, there were seven "public" schools about Greater Boston and none of them were financed by a common method. Dedham, in 1644, did establish its public school with tax money and supported it with a regular tax levy—the first such school in America. The school in Cambridge was supported, unlike the Boston school, wholly by fees paid by the students for a time, but by 1650 a tax levy was made to help meet the teacher's salary. In Charlestown, the school was supported by the rent of town lands and by a tax levy. Dorchester had the rental for its school of Thompson's Island, given, in part,

by the General Court to the town for that purpose. There was also an endowment subscribed by private citizens and neither students' fees nor taxes for years. The school in Roxbury was not public; it was supported completely by the more fortunate families who closed it to all children but their own. In Ipswich, students' fees were bolstered by rents from public lands, while in Salem parents paid if they felt able to do so and the town paid the balance by a tax.

But this system could not long endure. It was, of course, an inheritance from England, where the schools were, and are supported by endowments, rents from lands, and fees of the students. As the population of Massachusetts grew, and students increased in much greater proportion than income, private benevolence fell far behind the need so that there was no other method of financing the schools than by general taxes levied for the specific purpose. However, the old system did not abruptly change and endured for more than a century, in part, in some towns. In fact, the schools of Ipswich are still endowed with rents from old public lands.

Remarkable as was the development of the school system for an infant colony, it was apparent, within the first decade, that it was not working satisfactorily. In general, education was being limited to the children of comparatively wealthy parents. Poorer families, particularly those engaged in agriculture, needed every hand for the multitudinous tasks of clearing fields, raising crops and running the household, and many children were thus for economic as well as financial reasons being denied the privilege of an education. By 1640 the situation was being agitated in the General Court and, in 1642, the first of the State's long series of educational laws was passed. The law reads, in part: "Forasmuch as the good education of children is of singular behoofe and benefit to any Commonwealth, and whereas many parents and masters are too indulgent of their duty in that kind; it is ordered that the chosen men for managing the prudentials of every town (the present Selectmen) in the several precincts and quarters where they dwelle, shall have a vigilant eye over their neighbors, to see, first, that none of them shall suffer so much barbarism in any of their families, as not to endeavor to teach, by themselves, or others, their children and apprentices, so much learning as may enable them to read perfectly the English Tongue, and a knowledge of the Capital Laws, upon penalty of twenty shillings for each neglect therein. Also, that all masters of families do once a week, at the least, catechize their children, and servants in the grounds and principles of religion."

This law has been termed the foundation of the Massachusetts public school system. It was not. This law did make the education

of every child compulsory, but neither free nor in a school. Instruction could be given at home; parents were simply required to see that their children could read—there is no mention of a school.

It was the law of 1647, the next school law passed by the General Court, which was the real foundation of the State's public school system, the law which established free public schools and made Massachusetts the only Colony in America which had such an institution.

In the seventeen years from 1630, Massachusetts had grown mightily and prospered exceedingly. Some twenty thousand folks lived in and about Greater Boston, being divided into thirty towns. Palfrey writes that the Colony "had planted fifty towns and villages, built thirty or forty churches and more ministers' houses, a castle, a college, prisons, forts, cartways and causeways many; had comfortable houses, gardens and orchards, grounds fenced and cornfields." And not only that, but ships were being built to take the products of the State, fish, masts, wheat, corn, resin, turpentine, barrels, lumber, hemp, flax, glass, wool and many other things to the other Colonies, to the West Indies, to Spain and even to London. This very prosperity militated against the proper education of youth. Of course, prosperous families were sending their boys to school and then providing for them at Harvard—but this was all voluntary. The more business developed, and more and greater grew the rewards of penetrating into outlying areas and developing new farms, the more commercialism developed with prosperity to decrease "spiritual concerns," the less and less important the abstract value of education seemed. Indeed, present profit was more interesting than future welfare.

The clergymen and magistrates, the leaders of the Colony, readily recognized that the situation was threatening. Accordingly, the matter was brought up in the General Court and a law enacted which was so admirable that it established once and for all the leadership of the Commonwealth in education and was so carefully constructed that it endured with but a single change for a century and a half. It was the corner-stone of the Massachusetts school system.

The law reads, in modern spelling:

"It being one chief project of that old deluder, Satan, to keep men from the knowledge of the Scriptures, as in former times by keeping them in an unknown tongue, so in these latter times by persuading from the use of tongues that so at least the true sense and meaning of the original might be clouded by false glosses of saint seeming deceivers, that learning may not be buried in the grave of our fathers in the church and commonwealth, the Lord assisting our endeavors.

"It is therefore ordered, that every township in this jurisdiction, after the Lord hath increased them to the number of fifty householders, shall then forthwith appoint one within their own town to teach all such children as shall resort to him to read and write, whose wages shall be paid either by the parents or masters of such children, or by the inhabitants in general, by way of supply, as the major part of those that order the prudentials of the town shall appoint; provided, those that send their children be not oppressed by paying much more than they can have them taught for in the other towns; and it is further ordered, that where any town shall increase to the number of one hundred families or householders they shall set up a grammar school, the master thereof being able to instruct youth so far as they may be fitted for the university; provided that if any town neglect the performance hereof above one year, that every such town shall pay five pounds to the next school till they shall perform this order."

It should be pointed out that the first type of school was the "Dame School," that simply taught boys to read and write, that the grammar school was not that which bears the name today but rather a secondary or high school, patterned after the old English Cathedral Grammar School which prepared boys for college, and that within twenty-seven years after landing on Massachusetts soil, the Boston Colony had organized the three types of schools fundamentally as they exist today.

Buried in this brief and quaintly worded law of 1647 lie the six basic principles of public education: universal education, parental obligation, State enforcement, State standards, public taxation and higher education.

Going to school, of whatever grade, was no easy business in those days. No child went to school or college to escape work at home or in the field. Schoolmasters, men of strong personality and stronger convictions, ruled with the proverbial birch in their hands, and the student who did not work was promptly convinced of his error in neglecting his opportunity and privilege. School held not for five hours a day as now, but for a full eight hours, without vacations and with few holidays. And each child was not provided with a varnished chair and polished desk; he sat on a rough bench without a back-rest and scraped away on a slate with a shrieking scrap of softer slate or chalk for a pencil. For light, when necessary, there were sometimes candles, but oftener only rush-lights, scraps of spongy-stemmed marsh grass dipped in grease, and supported in a simple metal frame. And there were no hissing and sputtering radiators to warm the draughty sheds of schoolhouses, either; just open fires,

fires at which first the master, and then the senior pupils, basked, while the youngsters shivered and shook in the further corners. Incidentally, whether schools were supported by tax money, by pupils' fees, or by a combination of both, it was the duty of each parent to supply the school with a proportionate share of the season's firewood; and, should the wood be too large to burn readily, the pupil concerned had to cut it into sizeable pieces.

What must have been even more difficult to endure was that the school was, particularly in the early years of the Colony, merely an extension of the church. The local minister was charged by custom and inclination with the duty of keeping his eye on both the master and the pupils, and he acted somewhat as a modern school superintendent does, supervising the studies thoroughly. Thus not only on Sundays, but every day, the boys were held tightly clutched to the bosom of the church and for every minute spent in mundane studies at least two were spent struggling with the Scriptures. Indeed, this tendency for clerical government was specifically buttressed by the third school law, that of 1654, which reads:

"Foreasmuch as it greatly concerns the welfare of this country that the youth thereof be educated not only in good Literature but in sound doctrine; This Court doth therefore commend it to the serious consideration and special care of the Overseers of the College (Harvard), and the selectmen in the several towns not to admit or suffer any such to be continued in the office or place of Teaching, Educating or Instructing Youth or children in the College or Schools that have manifested themselves unsound in faith or scandalous in their lives, and not giving due satisfaction according to the rules of Christ."

Only two other laws during the remainder of the century in Boston deserve attention. That of 1683 was enacted to require all towns of more than five hundred families or householders to maintain two grammar schools and two reading and writing schools, and provided a fine of ten pounds for any town which failed to obey. The other law of the same date increased the fine fixed by the law of 1642 upon towns of two hundred families, which failed to establish a grammar school, to twenty pounds. Both fines were to be paid to the school in the next town.

While Boston during this time was making such admirable progress, Plymouth was not establishing any records for leadership. In fact, it was not until 1670 that the first free public school was established, although by that time Plymouth had outgrown much of its first period

of privation and such towns as Barnstable, Duxbury, Sandwich, Scituate, Taunton and Yarmouth were prosperous communities.

In 1663 it was proposed that a school for teaching reading and writing be established, but it was not until in 1670, when the General Court gave "the profits from the cape fishing" to the support of a free elementary and a free grammar school that these were established in Plymouth.

In 1673 some thirty-three pounds were thus provided.



FIRST FREE PUBLIC SCHOOL IN AMERICA

First Boston Public Latin School, founded April 23, 1635. Building on School Street
on site of present City Hall

Courtesy of The First National Bank of Boston

And Plymouth was equally slow in adopting the educational laws and practices of Boston. In 1671, Plymouth made obligatory the Boston law of 1642 and in 1677 the Boston law of 1647, although it was changed somewhat—the law authorized towns of fifty families to maintain a grammar school while towns of seventy families or more were required to support such a school. These schools also shared in the "cape fisheries money": in 1681, the school at Rehoboth was given twelve pounds and the school at Duxbury eight pounds, while in 1682, the first school received but five pounds and the second eight pounds. The same year the school at Barnstable was given twelve pounds and that at Taunton three pounds.

Interestingly enough, this same "cape money" was also used, in part,

for education among the Indians. Plymouth records for 1678 read: "John, Indian Teacher of Mattapoissett, is allowed three pounds for his labor in preaching and teaching school among the Indians; and is ordered for the continuing in that work for the following year."

In 1692, when Boston and Plymouth were united under King William's charter, the two colonies united their educational systems formally and Plymouth Colony naturally was compelled to shift its schools into higher gear to keep pace with those of Boston.

The Eighteenth Century—The Provincial Period was altogether different in spirit and accomplishment from the Colonial Period. The enthusiasm for education, the solid determination that every child must be educated, no matter what the cost to the State, was noticeably lacking and thus, although numbers of laws were enacted by the General Court, little real improvement was accomplished until the nineteenth century. In fact, the period may be regarded as one of retrogression rather than of progression.

Undoubtedly there are sufficient reasons for this fact. With prosperity, political, religious, and economic troubles began; no longer was the citizen of Massachusetts untroubled. Constant war with the Indians, religious disputes, witchcraft, Quakers, the French wars, continued bickering with the Crown, and finally the Revolution itself, were more than enough to keep the minds and purses of the provincials busy and empty, without having any burdens of school development added. Then, too, the number of small settlements multiplied rapidly, one hundred and seventy towns being incorporated between 1700 and the Revolution. Many of these were but a few families strong and little time was available to teach the children even the fundamentals of reading and writing. This fact is shown by the law of 1701, which, declaring that "the observance of the school law was shamefully neglected by divers towns, and the penalty thereof not required, tending greatly to the nourishment of ignorance and irreligion, whereof grievous complaint is made . . ." increased the penalty for not complying with the school law from the ten pound rate to twenty pounds.

The first answer that the financially embarrassed towns made to escape this fine was to make their schools more productive by the simple means of making one small school serve the entire town through the practice of moving it about, "putting the school on wheels." Scituate is an example. In 1704 the school was kept for four months in one section of the town, for the next four months in the middle section and, for the final four months in the third section. Yarmouth went further in making its one little school serve

in a year in five sections, the term varying from a few weeks annually to four months. This was rather commonly done throughout the State with the elementary school but in comparatively few places with the grammar schools.

One progressive step was made at about this time, however. At first it had been necessary to attract worthy men to the profession of school teaching by granting them special privileges in addition to their pay, such as freedom from taxes, exemption from military duty and the like. But, by 1700, it was found equally necessary to put up a fence to keep unworthy men from entering the profession. To accomplish this, the law of 1701 initiates the certification of teachers: no man could teach grammar school unless he was approved by the minister of the town and the ministers of two adjacent towns.

Another step, whether progressive or not, was accomplished at about this time—the employment of school ma'ams, or "school-dames," as the town reports of the period list them in recording items paid for their salary and transportation. Two reasons were responsible for women breaking into the profession; first, the shortened school years and the "school-on-wheels" development did not attract capable men, so, as there were plenty of women willing to accept any work at all, the towns began to fill up the smaller schools with women teachers; and, second, because women, then just as now, would work for much smaller wages than men and thus small towns with limited funds found that they could pinch pennies by hiring a school-dame instead of a schoolmaster. Probably, as the women were limited to the elementary school, at least at first, the change from male to female was for the advantage of the children, because a woman, spinster though she might be, undoubtedly could understand children better than men and accomplished more with sympathy than with the birch.

Another development of the time, a practice which no longer exists, was the overseeing of private schools; that is, of schools supported by fees from pupils' parents, by the selectmen of the towns in which such schools were located. Throughout this period town reports record the action of the selectmen in "allowing and approving" certain persons to keep private schools.

The final development of importance, while not in its beginning evil, was destined to cause the Commonwealth's schools to fall into the doldrums, to hold them in a fatal spell until 1883. This development was the districting system. In essence, it was the decentralization of each town's schools into districts, a change brought about by the fact that towns were in themselves not homogeneous organizations but loose aggregates of several districts or, rather, parishes, since the early

settlers migrated not so much as individuals but as congregations led and held together by their minister. Thus, each town was, in effect, an aggregation of parishes, both geographically and politically, and it was only natural for each of these parishes to seek to control their own school, the school in their section. This districting development was recognized by the General Court in 1768, which, changing the earlier law which fixed the duty of the maintenance of the schools upon the town, allowed members of a parish, or district, to maintain a school by a direct tax upon themselves. This was mostly an empty gesture, for the towns still maintained supervision over the schools, and the districting was not obligatory nor were any specific duties assigned. It was simply a step taken to assure better schools by creating a more local interest in the individual school.

During the Revolution itself, naturally, schools languished, as all thought, all energy, was devoted to the winning of the war and then to the task of changing a Province into a State. However, it is significant that the patriots were as cognizant of the value of education as the colonists had been. The second section of the fifth chapter of the State Constitution makes this evident: "Wisdom and knowledge as well as virtue diffused generally among the body of the people, being necessary for the preservation of their rights and liberties; and as these depend on spreading the opportunities and advantages of education in the various parts of the country, and among the different orders of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislature and magistrates, in all future periods of this Commonwealth, to cherish the interest of literature and the sciences, and all seminaries of them, especially the University of Cambridge, public schools and grammar schools in the towns."

And, indeed, no sooner was a measure of stability restored, than the new State, in 1789, through its General Court, passed a new school law which codified all the mass of laws and practices which represented the development of the Commonwealth's system of education in the preceding century and a half. In general the law of 1789 was merely a recognition of existing law, but it varied in a few important details. On the credit side, the new law, recognizing education as the fundamental requirement of citizenship, made the school by the people and for the people, and, relaxing the former preoccupation with religious matters, introduced secular subjects and placed the emphasis of instruction upon preparation for civic responsibilities.

On the debit side, the new law relaxed some of the previous statutory requirements. For example, where in early days there was a permanent elementary school in every town of fifty householders,

the new law required but six months of schooling, and, where formerly all towns of a hundred householders were required to maintain a grammar school to prepare boys for the university, the new law raised the limit to two hundred householders. This change relieved no less than one hundred and twenty towns in the State from the obligation of maintaining a grammar school—a duty which some of these towns had been supporting for more than a century. Worst of all, the new law recognized the district system, although not giving it any power.

However, there were details in the new law which were an improvement over the old. In the elementary schools, the former laws insisted merely that children be taught reading and writing; the new law added arithmetic, spelling, English writing (composition) and correct behavior. Masters of schools were also required to be college graduates or else certified as qualified to teach by learned men or ministers of the neighborhood (synonymous), and they were further required to bear a certificate of good moral behavior from either their home town minister or board of selectmen. This overseeing of the quality of the teachers was specifically extended down to the smallest elementary schools, and even school ma'ams had to have certificates of both professional capability and moral probity.

Possibly the most important new development of value is the provision which the law makes, for the first time, for the regular official inspection of all schools, either by ministers or selectmen, or by a committee comprised of both. This inspection, the law required, was to be made not less frequently than every six months with the specific purpose of determining the "diligence and proficiency of the scholars." Graciously enough, the law provided that the committee before making an inspection should give reasonable notice of their impending visit.

Although not so technically important, to modern standards at least, the section of the law dealing with moral instruction is both significant and tremendously well written. In the dull desert of legal verbiage, it stands out an oasis of literature:

"It shall be the duty of the president, professors and tutors of the University at Cambridge (Harvard, you will realize, was at the time virtually a State institution), and of the several colleges, of all preceptors and teachers of academies, and of all other instructors of youth, to exert their best endeavors to impress on the minds of children and youth committed to their care and instruction the principles of piety and justice and a sacred regard to truth; love of their country, humanity, and universal benevolence; sobriety, industry

and frugality; chastity, moderation, and temperance; and those other virtues which are the ornament of human society and the basis upon which a Republican Constitution is founded; and it shall be the duty of such instructors to lead their pupils, as their ages and capacities will admit, into a clear understanding of the tendency of the above-mentioned virtues to preserve and perfect a Republican Constitution and secure the blessings of liberty as well as to promote their future happiness, and also to point out to them the evil tendencies of the opposite vices."

There has been much written about the philosophy of education and the duties of teachers, particularly about the teacher's unique opportunity to guide his pupils as individuals and as future citizens. Very probably, however, there has been nothing written, at least nothing at once so concise and so all-inclusive, which better expresses the teacher's responsibility than this paragraph from the Massachusetts school law of 1789. The men who wrote it were fresh from the heat of a triumphant war in which they had rid themselves of an allegedly corrupt king; they knew that the democracy they established could even more readily be corrupted; they sought to preserve what they had fought for by the best means they knew, education of their children—and in this paragraph they expressed their purpose and wrote what amounts to the teachers' creed. If Massachusetts had accomplished nothing more than this paragraph, the State would still deserve high honor among her sister Commonwealths.

FIFTY YEARS OF DECLINE

From the Law of 1789 to Horace Mann—If an educational system could be considered to have suffered a "black eye," then Massachusetts certainly sustained something of a contusion to one of the optics of her educational system during this period. The other optic, academies and private schools, gleamed unsullied, but the optic which was the public school was sadly bruised. The bruise was the district system.

The law of 1789, in sanctioning the district school development, merely recognized a tendency which, practiced for a century here and there about the Commonwealth, had been merely an informal arrangement by which, in effect, folks living in a district or parish, geographically and politically set off from the town to which it belonged, were given a proportionate share of the school taxes to spend as they saw best for the education of their children. It was simply democratic decentralization of authority and responsibility.

Merely sanctioning the practice, the law did not establish any specific duties or privileges and, as a result, the town school system

was somewhat chaotic. Accordingly, two laws were enacted by the General Court which firmly established the district as the fundamental unit of the public school system in place of the town. The first law was that of 1800. It virtually made the school district a corporation in giving the district the power to tax. Districts were specifically authorized to conduct district meetings at which money could be appropriated for building, repairing, and furnishing school buildings, and then the towns, of which the districts were a part, were compelled to raise the money so expended. The second law was that of 1817. It specifically made the school district a corporation by conferring upon it the ability to make contracts, to sue and to be sued, and all the rest. Finally, in 1827, the General Court crowned the district system with a law which obliged towns having school districts, to have in each district a "prudential committee" appointed, this committee to be charged with the schools in their district, not only caring for the school plants, buildings, and furnishings, but also employing teachers. It was not even necessary to appoint or elect these district school committees in regular town meeting; the law permitted them to be elected by the district itself.

Thus, about two hundred years after the Puritans established the first schools in English America, the General Court changed them legally from a social institution to a political bauble. Lest this be thought to be over-statement, it should be remembered that, in New England at least, the smaller the political unit and the smaller the item of business under consideration, the greater the vociferation and the degree of wire-pulling. Even today, in large town meetings, let alone State and Federal legislatures, questions involving millions of dollars are disposed of quietly and with comparative efficiency, while little two-by-four piddlings, which everyone can understand, are held up while the pros and the antis unload a whole year's stored-up emotions, giving the powers-that-be opportunity under the cloud of dust thus raised to do precisely as they desire. Such was the case with the district school; probably no other article of business on the agenda of a century ago caused so much civic confusion and resulted in so much civic mismanagement.

No detail of the school was too minute to escape without more political animosity than the election of a President might occasion. In fact, many voters who did not bother to leave their homes for Federal, State and even town elections, would throw down whatever happened to be occupying their energies for the sake of attending a district school meeting and fighting over some detail not worth the talking about.



BOSTON COLLEGE

Probably the two main items of contention over the district schools were the physical structures and the choice of the teachers. When a schoolhouse was to be built, the first thing to be determined was to have a site which, costing as little as possible, would yet be equidistant from every house in the section. This abstruse matter settled, as satisfactorily as possible, then there was the problem of the design and construction. The guiding principle was "Save the pennies," and thus the district schools, unless the district happened to be a part of a wealthy town, were distinguished not only by shameful construction economies but also by complete inadequacy of size. Often a hundred children might be crowded into a room which today could not be used to accommodate less than half as many. In place of individual desks and chairs most schools then had a shelf running about the wall in front of which was a bench. The shelf was the writing surface upon which the older children, who sat upon the benches, did their paper work. In front of and between this arrangement, which occupied three sides of the room, were other benches, usually arranged in rows, facing the teacher who, with the fireplace, occupied the fourth side of the room. These benches were occupied by students who had not attained sufficient skill or years to either write or "figger." These shelves and benches were of rough, unfinished wood, the work of a local carpenter. In the course of the years, however, the wood became polished by the clothes of the children, and ornamented with the initials and other legends favored of children since schools began.

Once the school was established, the next controversy was the election of a teacher, and from then on, the problem of whether or not he or she should be retained. Legally, the district could employ only those teachers who had certificates of qualifications, but this rule was more often observed by being ignored than otherwise. Politics pure and simple usually nominated the teachers, and politics, not so pure but equally simple, determined how long they retained the position. This was possible, as political powers could appoint and retain friends and relatives, because the rate of pay was so very meagre that there was seldom an abundance of candidates seeking a position in which one would possess outstanding qualifications. If a teacher was well educated and amply experienced, then the district school held no attraction. Within sharp limits wages varied considerably, in proportion to the wealth of the town. Women teachers received from four to eight dollars a month; men from ten to twelve. Here and there, women may have received ten and men twenty, but such liberality was the exception rather than the rule. Of course.

in addition to this money the districts boarded the teachers "around," each family taking "teacher" in turn, a family making "teacher" one of themselves in proportion to the number of children they had under tutelage. Since the families varied considerably in their position, both economic and social, "teacher" undoubtedly shortly acquired a very genuine insight into the life of the district.

The curriculum of the district schools was as limited as the size of the schoolhouse and the ability of the school teacher, speaking in comparison with today. However, in contrast with the subjects of the preceding century, there was a deal of broadening. In the eighteenth century, only reading and writing were required, although some arithmetic was taught, plus a very great amount of theology. It was not until nearly 1830 that such a subject as geography was generally taught, just after the time when spelling and reading (literature) ousted the catechism and the Bible. This change was not all for the betterment of the students; it gave them patriotic material, truly enough, and such material unquestionably belonged in the schools, but it should have been included in the work, rather than used to replace the older material. Franklin's proverbs have much that are valuable about them; but they hardly compensate for the loss of Solomon and the third rate efforts of most contemporary writers certainly are not as instructive or inspiring as is the literature of the Old and New Testaments. However, it was the theory of the time to be practical and patriotic. Spelling, probably more than any of the new subjects on the curriculum, attracted attention. In fact, correct spelling became as much a craze with parents, as well as with children, as contract bridge is today. There was need of better spelling—as even State documents of the period bear witness, but this hardly explains the intense devotion which everyone displayed in acquiring the art of putting the right letters in their correct order. The famous "spelling-bee" thus came into being and teacher, more often than not, won his job and retained it through his ability to "down" all the parents in his district, as he stood, night after night, lined up with them in the district schoolhouse while the school committee chairman, or some other personage, slowly and with difficulty mispronounced the words teacher had to spell or be dismissed.

Thus, thanks to the ultimate expression of the decentralizing political philosophy of the period, the schools were split up into districts and made the prey of petty politics. Crowded and unhealthy school rooms, jerry-built buildings, inexperienced and ignorant teachers, dreary and often useless studies were the result.

And yet, out of these district schools, came some of the greatest sons Massachusetts can boast. This, at first glance, seems an

anomaly. Yet, going deeper, it is recognizable that, for all their shortcomings, the district school served what, for men of ability, was a sufficient purpose. They taught reading and writing and they served to open the door to further opportunities, the opportunities the colleges were affording—to those who could pay the price in cash, or in sacrificial labor which was translated into tuition fees and board bills.

The Academies—With the public schools thus declining, the school system of Massachusetts advanced greatly in another direction, the academy. Legally the law of the General Court in 1797 gave these institutions a place as corporations and their development was both rapid and distinguished. Of course, in that they were private schools, the academies were opposed to the democratic ideal exemplified in the public school. This has been their limiting factor and probably explains in large degree why they failed to prosper in accordance with their promising beginning and why they are not more than a minor factor, numerically considered, in the education system of the present day.

In essence, the academy was an American development of the English grammar school, an endowed institution, supported in part by the fees of students, and existing for two purposes, affording a better grade of education for its students, and fitting those who desired to go further for the universities.

The movement began in Massachusetts as early as 1761 when William Dummer, Lieutenant Governor of the Commonwealth during the years immediately preceding the Revolution, left his estate in Newbury for the founding of a free school. This school was established in 1763 under the direction of Samuel Moody, who conducted it so satisfactorily to everyone concerned that, in 1782, in accordance with the act of the General Court, the school was incorporated under the name of Dummer Academy.

Possibly one of the more important accomplishments of Dummer was one of its pupils, Samuel Phillips, of Andover. From the Newbury school, Phillips went to Harvard and, after graduation, played an influential part in the Revolutionary era in this State. Through his efforts a new school was founded in Andover under the name of the Phillips School, its establishment being made possible by the generosity of Samuel and two brothers, John Phillips, of Exeter, and William Phillips, of Boston. This was in 1788, and two years later the General Court incorporated the school under the name of Phillips Academy.

A third academy was not long in formation; Leicester Academy

being incorporated in 1784. Their success attracted many other prominent and wealthy men to the idea and soon seven others were incorporated—Bristol, Derby, Marblehead, New Salem, Plymouth, Westfield and Westford. To some of these the General Court graciously gave grants of land in what is now the State, but was then the District of Maine. Naturally, other academies requested the same endowment and thus it became necessary for the General Court to establish a policy in dealing with the institution of academies.

A committee investigated the business and, in 1797, the General Court adopted an act which provided specifically for the incorporation of academies and ordered that each academy should be given half a township of public lands for endowment under the conditions that, first, it possess a permanent endowment fund contributed by individuals and, second, that the academy be so located that it serve an area including more than thirty thousand inhabitants not already served by an existing academy.

This provision was like manna from heaven and academies sprouted overnight; within forty years after 1797, one hundred and twelve academies were incorporated in about ninety towns. (Some of these existed only on paper, never actually opening their doors.) They were well distributed about the State. Considered by counties, Barnstable had five, Berkshire eight, Bristol three, Dukes two, Essex twelve, Franklin five, Hampshire six, Hampden six, Middlesex fourteen, Nantucket one, Norfolk eight, Plymouth nine and Worcester ten.

Undoubtedly these academies met a great need in the Commonwealth. Besides ably preparing students for college, they gave a really liberal education to pupils who desired to go further than the academy, or who were unable to study further. Indeed, this latter service of the academies was their greatest. For example, Leicester Academy, out of an annual enrollment of eight thousand pupils averaged to send but four hundred to college. All in all, probably, each year, students to the number of more than a hundred thousand received from the academies an education superior to that given in the public schools—with the possible exception of a very few, such as Boston Latin. To go to an academy, even if only for a single term, was the dearest wish of every young man in the State and they would toil from dawn to dark at the most laborious and unpleasant tasks, if family finances made it necessary, just to spend the few dollars thus painfully accumulated, in the neighborhood academy. It was more than just learning to these youngsters; it was a spiritual adventure. From their few months' attendance they would gain an illumination sufficient to light the long pathway of their years.

To modern educators the curriculum of even the academies may seem limited, but in contrast with the public school curriculum of the age the academies gave a really liberal education. They taught, in addition to reading and writing, arithmetic and spelling, geography and literature, such things as Latin, Greek and French, public speaking, logic, philosophy, algebra and geometry and "such other liberal arts and sciences as the trustees shall direct."

How well these schools succeeded, beyond giving more than a million boys a glimpse of true culture, is shown by their records. Dummer, the first academy, in its first generation alone, developed fifteen Congressmen, two Chief Justices of the Supreme Court, a president of Harvard and four college professors. Leicester, in its first sixty years, educated four Governors, as well as politicians, lawyers and teachers, while Monson Academy counts no less than two hundred ministers as its sons.

Unfortunately, this outstanding success of the academies reacted proportionately upon the public schools. The better the academies the poorer the public schools. By 1840 this situation was an open reproach to the Commonwealth. Educational opportunities were not equal for every boy. The families who could afford to pay tuition purchased for their children a superior education. Families who could not meet the charges had nothing left but the district elementary and the town grammar schools, institutions grudged the most meagre support by families who hated to pay taxes to support schools which they did not patronize. What made the situation worse was that, in addition to the hundred or so incorporated academies, there grew up a host of private schools and in 1840 these private schools, not incorporated, took in as much in tuition charges as was spent in supporting fifty per cent. of the public schools of the entire Commonwealth. Thus the public school was the stepchild of the State and reached its lowest ebb. Believe it or not, authorities state positively that, about 1840, some district schools received less than ten dollars annually for support and Martin, in his *Massachusetts Public School System*, alleges that "one received only five dollars and sixty cents to provide its children with schooling for a year."

Important Minor Developments of the Period of Decline—Most distinctive among the minor developments of this distressing period, a development as bright as that of the academies, but without their unfortunate result upon the public schools, was the beginning of education for girls. In the colonial days, and well down into provincial times, the schools were for boys only. Before the Revolution, girls

were admitted to some town-supported schools but they were not encouraged at all, and few, if any of them, ever progressed beyond merely learning to read and write. As soon as they were old enough to work about the home, the multitudinous duties of the household claimed them, and development to womanhood meant only the change from working in their fathers' homes to those of their husbands.

After the Revolution, the more democratic spirit of the people found a grudging expression in the idea that the girls should be educated a little, as well as the boys; and so, over a period of years, more and more grammar schools were opened to girls, usually for an hour a day—an hour in the morning before the boys reported, or an hour in the afternoon, after the boys were dismissed. In about fifty years, toward the end of the period of decline, girls were more generously treated, and gained equal standing with the boys in most grammar schools.

However, long before this happy accomplishment was attained, private schools for girls were established, to which families of wealth sent their girls to have them polished—something after the idea of “finishing schools” today. The girls learned manners and dancing, the art of conversation and fine sewing, and the other accomplishments which would enable them to take their proper places as leaders in the society to which their fathers' and their husbands' positions entitled them.

When the academies came along, the girls were admitted to some of them, particularly, Bradford, Lawrence, Leicester and Monson. There they exhibited such avidity for knowledge that it was not long before the idea that girls should have academies of their own found wide support. By 1818, Reverend Joseph Emerson established at Byfield such a school for girls, which was followed in 1829 by the school at Andover founded by Sara Abbott. These schools were of the most excellent quality and fully as high in their standards as any boys' school. Others were soon to follow, as the one at South Hadley, founded by Mary Lyon. All of these schools accomplished their purpose magnificently, although curtailed in a measure by the idea that girls, to a greater degree than boys, needed preoccupation with religious and moral studies. The girls came to the school as pioneers; that higher education was at last open to women was a novel idea and, accordingly, their spirit was high, they flamed with zeal, they labored earnestly and succeeded amazingly.

Aside from the development in colleges and universities, particularly the professional schools of medicine and law at Harvard, there are several detailed developments of importance. In the ten years between

1818 and 1828, the present graded schools and normal school idea received their first expression in the experiment with monitors in which bright children were selected to assist the teacher in his work. This made the teacher a sort of principal with assistant teachers and, while the experiment was abandoned, it did enable more children to be taught longer without the expenditure of additional money and it disclosed the advantages to be derived from splitting the common school assembly into grades, so that children of equal age and training could be handled as a unit apart from the rest of the school.

This period also saw the beginning of the modern high schools. These were, in essence the answer of the public school system to the academies, as the new high schools were secondary schools of a better grade than the grammar schools, and yet were supported by tax money. Boston led, as usual, with the first high school for boys, English Classical, 1821. In 1826 the City founded the first high school for girls and in 1827 the City went still further by establishing the Mechanics Institute, which afforded mechanical education at public cost.

Another important step was the founding of primary schools in Boston to take the place of the private "Dame" schools. This primary school foundation thus began the modern division of public education; by 1823 Boston had primary schools, Writing and English schools, grammar schools, English High and Latin High—all supported by public funds.

By 1826 this plan was so evidently successful that the General Court ordered all towns of more than five hundred householders to establish high schools and in 1835 made it permissible for all towns to support high schools with tax money.

In 1824 and 1826, the first step in the long struggle to reform the district school system was begun when it was made permissible for towns to elect school committees to take charge of schools, textbooks and teachers—thus opening the way for the town as a unit once again to control all its schools.

In 1829 two very important organizations were formed. The teachers of Essex County formed the Essex County Teachers' Association for the purpose of advancing education and the same year the American Institute of Instruction was formed in Boston. Eleven states sent representatives who met in the State House in 1829, and united to incorporate the society the following year. It was really a New England body and largely supported by Massachusetts, the Legislature endowing it with a grant of \$300 a year, and it set to work to furnish American education with leadership. From it, has resulted



PANORAMA OF MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, CAMBRIDGE

the Massachusetts State Board of Education and the State's system of normal schools—to name two of its accomplishments.

The same year, 1829, also saw the formation of one of the most outstanding institutions in the world, the Perkins Institute, an organization which, now located in beautiful quarters at Watertown, leads in the education of children afflicted with blindness. Incidentally, it was not until 1867 that a school for deaf children, the Clarke School, was formed. This latter school has been made immortal by the association with it of Alexander Graham Bell, later the inventor of the telephone while professor at Boston University.

In 1830, the need for training teachers was apparent but no public support could be obtained for establishing a normal school so, like the one at Concord, Vt., founded in 1823, S. R. Hall established a private normal school at Andover at which a three years' course was offered under the academy aegis. This school, opened in 1830, was the first normal school in the State.

The year 1834 was most memorable in that the General Court passed, on March 31st, the State School Fund. A fund, not to exceed a million dollars, was to be set up from the sale of lands in Maine and other sources which was to be distributed to the towns to help support their schools on condition that the towns themselves raised at least a dollar each year for every child between four and sixteen and also that each town reported annually to the State concerning its schools and the condition of its children educationally. Seven years of labor, a work headed by James G. Carter, were necessary to obtain the establishment of this fund.

The final event of this period was the passage of the first child labor law. Agitation against the exploitation of children had begun to be heard early in the century but, as it was mostly agricultural labor, nothing could be accomplished. However, by the turn of the first half of the nineteenth century, the development of industry began to assume such large proportions that there was a very grave danger that children would be destroyed body and soul by the machine. Accordingly, the General Court was increasingly besieged by humanitarians, and in 1836 the first child labor law in America was enacted. This law forbade the employment of children under fifteen years of age, unless the children concerned attended school three months out of each year. This was not a model of child legislation, but it was an important advance in limiting the absolute authority of parent and guardian over a child, and it formed the groundwork of the long series of regulatory laws which now—and may they soon be bettered—forbid the employment of children under fourteen and control the treatment of children older than that age. The cupidity

of either parent or employer, where children are concerned, has no place in modern life and it is one of the blots upon the State today that it has not more enthusiastically advocated the further curtailment of child labor.

HORACE MANN—THE RENAISSANCE—1837-1848

Looming high above his contemporaries in the field of education, the figure of Horace Mann will always remain as the genius of the renaissance of education in Massachusetts. However, as is nearly always the case with such men, Mann was preceded by other earnest men and, without in the least minimizing his accomplishments, he found it possible to do so very much only because the labors of his predecessors had prepared the soil and planted the seed of the crop which he cultivated and brought to flower.

James G. Carter of Lancaster is one of the more outstanding of Mann's pace-makers. The decadence, the Dark Ages, of the public schools of Massachusetts, ever since the quickening intellectual spirit of the Nineteenth Century became effective in America, had been a subject of considerable concern to philanthropic individuals in the State, but it was Carter who first made known the seriousness of the situation, analyzed the particular causes and proposed remedial measures.

In striking modern fashion, he made use of newspapers and magazines to present his case and to obtain a hearing. Carter was a first class publicity man. In a series of articles, widely published and criticized, he presented a description of the low condition of the public schools, asserted positively that this sad plight was brought about largely by the phenomenal development of the academies and the private schools, fulminated against the folly of permitting the public school system, established with such high idealism and with such noble self-sacrifice by the colonists, to decay, and declared that the best remedy was two-fold—a higher standard of teaching in the public schools and the training of teachers to a level of competence which would make the higher standard possible.

Carter's writings were so to the point that intelligent folk were stimulated to look at the public schools. The condition they discovered was appalling. Frank A. Hill, Secretary of the State Board of Education, 1894-1904, writing of the schools at Carter's time, 1826, said, ". . . that there was then no compulsory attendance; that the length of schooling showed astonishing diversities, sometimes from two months to twelve, even in the same town; that this length was frequently eked out by private subscription; that large numbers

of teachers were incompetent; that schools were constantly changing their teachers; that factory work for young children was in vogue; that the school buildings were generally poor; that teaching apparatus was almost entirely lacking; that pupils in considerable number were without text books; that the presence of girls in the public schools of the older and wealthier towns was practically discouraged; that the wealth and culture of the State largely patronized private rather than public schools; that the City of Boston declined to admit pupils to its public schools until they could read and write, and even then ruled out girls for half the year; that there was a reprehensible trend, where private schools flourished, to look upon public school children as charity children; that public school secondary education had become nearly extinct; that there were no normal schools, no teachers' associations, no educational journals, no school fund, no measure of State help, no State supervision, and so on through the long list of things enjoyed today, but then unknown. These were the years when the public school spirit of the State seemed to have sunk to its lowest level. Many of the foregoing conditions were the unavoidable accompaniment of the times, the best conditions, in fact then possible, and are respectfully mentioned as interesting stages in the evolution of our schools' history. As for the rest, they ranged from the excusable to the discreditable. The worst of them were due in some measure . . . to the State's mistake of 1789 in recognizing sub-divisions of the town, known as school districts, as proper units for school administration. These units were so multiplied that large numbers of them were too small and too poor to do justice to their responsibilities. . . ."

Against this background, Carter's publicity had immediate effect and the legislation of 1824 and 1826, checking the power of the districts came into being, to be followed by the Essex County Teachers' Association, the American Institute of Instruction, the establishment of the State School Fund in 1834 and the honorable business of the first child labor legislation in 1836.

All this reform occupied fourteen years of Carter's life but he had still a crowning achievement awaiting. Three years after he had brought about the establishment of the State School Fund to aid poor towns, he persuaded Governor Edward Everett, in 1837, to further the educational progress of the Commonwealth by recommending the passage of a bill to create a State Board of Education. Carter, as House chairman, and Josiah Quincy, Jr., as Senate chairman, of the Joint Committee on Education, reported the proposed bill but it was defeated in the House by sixty-two votes, about two

to one. Aroused by this denial of his dream, Carter caused the bill to be reconsidered by a Committee of the Whole and he then so ably argued at this second opportunity, that the Committee reported favorably, the House accepted the report and the bill was passed.

As perhaps was necessary to the passage of the bill, the Board was a very inoffensive thing. It could not excite any fears that the central government on Beacon Hill was planning to seize any of the powers and privileges belonging to the individual towns and school districts. But, if the new Board was without power, it did have duties. Specifically, it was to make a report to the Legislature annually upon the condition of the public schools of the State and to suggest ways and means of correcting deficiencies. However, there were hidden teeth in the bill, nevertheless; the Board of eight members appointed by the Governor was empowered to elect a secretary who, according to the Act, should "collect information of the actual condition and efficiency of the common schools and other means of popular education, and diffuse as widely as possible throughout every part of the Commonwealth information of the most approved and successful methods of arranging the studies and conducting the education of the young, to the end that all children in this Commonwealth who depend upon common schools for instruction may have the best education which those schools can be made to impart."

Thus it was the job of the secretary, as an officer of the Commonwealth, to improve the condition of the schools. Of course, he was without executive power; he could but persuade. But, in direct proportion to his wisdom and determination and popularity, he had the opportunity of holding up before the local authorities the ideals which he could urge them to attain. In short, for the first time, it was made the business of one man first, to evaluate the public schools annually, and secondly to persuade the schools to correct their errors and adopt more efficient methods of both administration and instruction.

Everyone interested expected that James G. Carter would be elected the secretary of the new Board. For seventeen years, he had labored with his publicity and his voice to initiate a reformation in the public schools. Now, when at last he had been successful in at least the first few steps being taken, it was generally agreed that his, by right of reward, was the secretaryship where he could continue his work and go on to greater usefulness. However, such was not to be. When the new Board held its first meeting on June 29, 1837, Horace Mann was appointed secretary.

In the light of history, it is difficult to see how a better and more fortunate selection could have been made, but at the time not only the friends of Carter were surprised, but Mann's as well. Probably the reason that Mann was preferred over Carter was mainly that Mann, in addition to being prominent in educational matters, was an established political leader—and politicians are always kind to their brethren, a sort of professional *noblesse oblige*. Mann had served for ten years in the Massachusetts Legislature, during the last two of which he was president of the Senate, and he had also been a member of the Commission for the Revision of the State Statutes in 1836. All this, naturally, gave him both friends and prestige which a "mere agitator" like Carter did not have.

Politics aside, Mann was a distinguished personage, too; in a rare degree, he combined moral and intellectual qualities. Legally trained; his thinking was both logical and keen. His imagination was powerful and vivid and yet restrained by practical considerations. He was idealistic to a marked extent, yet he kept his feet firmly on the ground and never embraced fanciful or futile causes. If, however, there was genuine merit in a project, however unpopular it might be, he was always in the van of its proponents. Not only did slavery and intemperance find him arrayed against them but he was one of the strongest supporters of the work Dr. Samuel G. Howe was conducting for the benefit of the blind, and it was Mann, almost single-handed, who pushed through the Legislature the bill establishing the first asylum for the insane in the Commonwealth. His most prominent characteristic, however, was his downright moral earnestness. A Unitarian, nothing in his life or experience occurred but what he elevated to an ethical and religious plane. "All things for him were shadowed by Eternity." He was, succinctly, a Puritan of the genuine tradition. He believed in what was "right" and he was ready to fight for his beliefs. In short, he was a champion—fearless for himself, regardless of personal consequences, he "stood up in his boots for truth and justice."

In his biography, written by his wife, he is quoted as writing in his journal the day he was made Secretary, "Henceforth, so long as I hold this office, I dedicate myself to the supremest welfare of mankind upon earth." To friends who expostulated with him because he abandoned both his legal profession and his political position, and who pointed out that his salary was meagre and his title small, he replied, "If the title is not sufficiently honorable now, then it is clearly for me to elevate it. I had rather be creditor than debtor to the title." Extravagant statements, doubtless, to modern ears, but they

were in the style of the expansive times and, while other men may have been as extravagant in self-promises, few have kept them so well. For the twelve years that Mann held office, 1837-1848, day by day he held himself rigidly to this high conception of his duty.

That he had his trials, aside from the difficulties inherent in his tremendous task, is shown by the fact that his salary was but \$1,000 to begin with and was increased only to \$1,600 at the time he retired. The Board demanded that the Secretary be given an allowance for office expenses, postage and clerical assistance but, to quote Mann's tenth annual report: "No allowance was made for any expenses incurred in the discharge of his duties. During the continuance of the Secretary in his office, no allowance was ever made for office rent, clerk-hire, purchase of suitable or necessary books, and so forth, or for other incidental expenses. Though required, once in each year, at such time as the Board of Education shall appoint, to 'attend in each county of the Commonwealth, a meeting of all such teachers of Public Schools, members of school committees, and friends of education generally in the county, as might voluntarily assemble,' yet no part of the traveling or other expenses of these circuits was ever provided for or refunded." In fact, Mann never had even proper room in which to do his work. He discharged such public business as he transacted in the Council Chamber at the State House and he performed his other duties at home or while traveling. The year after he resigned, June 1849, the Board of Education was given two rooms for its use in the State House—a dozen years after the Board had been created.

Above all this, Mann rose supreme. To his two-fold duties, the collecting and dissemination of educational information, he at once addressed himself wholeheartedly. By the law establishing the State School Fund, all schools receiving the fund were required to make annual reports of their condition. These reports were given to Mann for study. However, they were incomplete and Mann sent out special blanks which required the detailed reporting of the calibre of the teaching staffs, the nature and quality of the text-books, the size and condition of the school buildings, the length of the terms, the character and ability of the school committee and so forth—until a really definite picture of the public school system was theoretically obtained. These paper reports, Mann supplemented by circuits of inspection and by a laborious and considerable correspondence. Thus, Mann shortly established a reporting system through which, for the first time, accurate information was obtained by the Commonwealth concerning its schools.

To disseminate this information and to circulate ideas of merit gathered from other sources, for the arousing of public opinion, to the end that genuine progress might be initiated, Mann adopted three means: first, the *Common School Journal*, a little magazine which Mann founded, edited, published and circulated for ten years; second, the annual, formal reports to the Legislature, which the Act provided for; and, third, conventions and public meetings.

Of these three methods, the convention was the most effective and typical for and of the period. Democracy was feeling its oats and the citizens, upon whose taxes the public schools depended, were not as easy to drive then as now. They were sovereign and, to make any progress, they had to be coaxed as well as argued with. The convention was the ideal means of accomplishing this—as there was no such thing as the radio, or even a newspaper with a large circulation.

Each county held one or more of these conventions annually, at which school teachers, school committee members and leading citizens were invited, and to which every town was requested to send a delegation. This was Mann's opportunity. Mounting the platform of each meeting, he presented his case, speaking not so much in the technical manner his position might have persuaded him to adopt, but in the broad, general, and lofty manner characteristic of the man. An example from one of his published lectures "The Means and Objects of Common School Education" is typical:

"The education of the whole people, in a republican government, can never be attained without the consent of the whole people. Compulsion, even if it were desirable, is not an available instrument. Enlightenment, not coercion, is our resource. The nature of education must be explained. The whole mass of mind must be instructed in regard to its comprehension and enduring interests. We cannot drive our people up a dark avenue, even though it be the right one; but we must hang the starry lights of knowledge about it, and show them not only the directness of its course to the goal of prosperity and honor, but the beauty of the way that leads to it.

"In some districts there will be but a single man or woman, in some towns scarcely half a dozen men or women, who have espoused this noble enterprise. But whether there be half a dozen or but one, they must be like the leaven which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal. Let the intelligent visit the ignorant day by day, as the oculist visits the blind man and detaches the scales from his eyes, until the living sense leaps to the living light.

"Let the zealous seek contact and communion with those who are frozen up in indifference, and thaw off the icebergs wherein

they lie imbedded. Let the love of beautiful childhood, the love of country, the dictates of reason, the admonitions of conscience, the sense of religious responsibility be plied, in mingled tenderness and earnestness, until the obdurate and dark mass of avarice, ignorance, and prejudice shall be dissipated by their blended light and heat."

This was Mann's general publicity, in which he "enlightened." In series of purely public meetings he spoke even more generally and persuasively—practically preached. In his annual reports, however, he went down to bed rock and denounced specific evils and recommended specific remedies. These reports form the secure basis of Mann's fame. Reading them today, they are so sound, so fundamental, so inspired that it is marvelous that a man, educated as a lawyer and not as an educator, should have grasped so very firmly and clearly the basic philosophy of education.

Out of his reports, he made a triple indictment against the public schools. First of all, he fulminated against the amazing neglect by the school authorities of attendance at the schools. He declared that more than forty thousand children did not attend school at all, or came so very seldom that they could not be listed as attending and that, on the whole, the children who attended regularly averaged but seventeen weeks out of each year. In this connection, Mann belabored the private schools; he criticized them as a waste of money. One sixth of the children, he said, attended private schools; the cost to the parents was seven tenths of the entire amount expended for all education. In other words, "seven tenths of the cost of education was being devoted to one sixth of the children and five sixths of the children had but three tenths." This sad condition, Mann endeavored to correct by appealing to the citizens first as patriots (pointing out that education for every child was a necessary condition of successful democracy) and, secondly, as Christians (declaring that the public schools were the best means of eliminating vice and crime from the mass of people).

His second count against the public schools was that the school buildings were so poorly built and so inadequate that they were a menace to the very lives of the children and utterly disgraceful to the communities which were responsible for them. To correct this condition, Mann wrote a special report, describing decent school buildings, giving details for their proper planning, placing, heating, lighting and ventilation.

Mann's third count was the lack of supervision of the public schools. He declared that elected and appointed officials, who received

no pay for their services, in most cases rendered no service whatever, neglecting their duties as well as their opportunities. In one large town of nearly fifty districts, Mann reported, the school committee had neither visited a single school nor examined a solitary teacher in eight successive years. This, he stated, was as much the fault of the people as it was of the school committee members. This abuse Mann essayed to correct by seeking to instruct school com-



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mittees in their duties and by repeatedly urging the citizens of the State to use greater care in selecting members of the committees. He also urged that school committee members be paid.

But Mann was not content to be thus laboring with the citizens who paid taxes; he worked even more assiduously with the members of the profession, the teachers themselves. His second annual report was, in this concern, for example, an educational treatise upon the value of reading as a subject in the schools and the manner in which the teachers could present it to the greatest advantage of the pupils. But this was not his only interest in this field: he declared that words should be taught before letters; that spelling should be taught

by the eye rather than the ear; he suggested that teaching should be as objective as possible through the use of illustrative apparatus, pictures and experiments. Corporal punishment was objectionable to Mann and he urged that the birch be replaced with persuasion and sympathy. In fact, he was continually busied about educating teachers as well as citizens to the need of a broader concept of the public school system.

This concern of Mann's with the elevation of the quality of the teachers culminated in one of Mann's outstanding services—the State normal schools. He did not originate the idea, nor did he enter into the primary stages of its development. He was the force which translated all the work and planning, which had been carried on into the actual establishment of the schools.

As early as 1827, Carter had moved to have the General Court make an appropriation for a normal school and missed success by a single vote. Believing that a competent corps of teachers was the most expedient means of raising the standard of the public schools, Rev. Charles Brooks of Hingham, in 1835, raised the slogan, "As is the teacher so is the school" and began a vigorous campaign throughout the State for the establishment of a normal school. He was earnestly supported by Mann and many other individuals and in 1837, a memorial from several sections of the Commonwealth was presented to the General Court with the endorsement of Governor Edward Everett.

To encourage the proposal, a member of the Board of Education, Edmund Dwight of Boston, one of the great manufacturing and railroad promoters of the day, offered to donate ten thousand dollars if the General Court would appropriate an equal sum for the proposed normal school. Mann presented Dwight's offer to the Legislature and on Patriot's Day, 1838, the Court appropriated ten thousand dollars to be spent by the Board of Education in training teachers.

With twenty thousand dollars to work with, the Board decided to found three experimental schools and to operate them for three years. In the difficulty of locating the three, the Board decided to require the towns in which normal schools were desired to furnish the buildings and to supply all needs, save funds for the payment of teachers. Plymouth won the honor of being the first town to offer to meet the requirements, but two other towns moved more quickly if belatedly, and the first State normal school, the very first in the United States, was opened in Lexington, July 3, 1839. Barre

had the second school; it opened September 4, and the Plymouth County school was finally, due to competition with the towns of the county, opened at Bridgewater on September 9, 1840.

No mother hen watches over her newly hatched brood with greater intensity, than did Mann over these new normal schools. No detail about them was too small to escape his vigilance. He selected the teachers, he drafted the plans for their organization and he presided over the determination of the curriculum. Thus, although Mann was but one of several standard bearers in the cause of the higher education of teachers, the normal school system of America is indelibly stamped with his genius and his name is eternally associated with it.

Several theories as to the value of the normal schools were loudly circulated as the three institutions gathered way, but, by the time the experimental period of three years was completed—and the twenty thousand dollars spent—their merit shone so very clearly that, without any difficulty legislation was secured under which they became permanent, state-supported institutions.

One other particular accomplishment of Mann's deserves notice—the Teachers' Institutes. A New York idea, Mann thought the plan of gathering practicing teachers together at regular intervals for intensive study and instruction over a period of several days, would aid in improving the level of the teachers already employed, and so beyond the reach of the normal school. Lacking funds, he was assisted by a gift of a thousand dollars from Edmund Dwight. With this, Mann determined to experiment with the idea and opened an institute in Pittsfield. In his biography by his wife, it is related that when Mann, accompanied by Governor Briggs, arrived to open the meeting, they found that no preparations had been made for its physical basis. Accordingly, the Governor and Mann, with two brooms borrowed from a neighboring home, opened a little school-house in the town and swept it clean. This was in 1845. Within a year the Teachers' Institutes proved so successful and practical that the Legislature was moved to make an appropriation for their expense and the system has been continued. Indeed, very shortly the Institutes became popular, and such men as Agassiz were attracted to give the assembled teachers the benefit of a glimpse into the sciences and the arts—to the eventual profit of thousands of school children, as well as the hundreds of teachers.

Among the minor accomplishments of Mann was the beginning of the establishment of public school libraries. Mann believed that reading was one royal road to education which had been sadly

neglected. He sought to remedy the defect by not only increasing the reading section of the curricula but also by placing good books within the ready reach of the children for outside use. The school library was the answer and in 1837, the Legislature made it permissible for school districts to spend tax money for such books. The idea started slowly, indeed, but Mann put his strength behind it and, by 1848, he had the pleasure of knowing that 97 towns had established school libraries and that a total of 91,539 volumes were available to meet the avid needs of book-hungry boys and girls.

This year, 1848, closed with the resignation of Mann from his office. John Quincy Adams had died and Mann was given his seat in Congress. Thus Mann turned from the labors with education, which made him immortal, back to politics, which, giving him his original opportunity, reclaimed him to obscurity again. He languished in Congress until 1853, when he became president of Antioch College, Ohio, holding that office until his death, August 2, 1859, at the age of sixty three.

Mann has a place in the Hall of Fame in New York City. His statue stands in front of the Massachusetts State House. He is regarded as the father of modern education in Massachusetts, almost the patron saint of the normal school.

Why? First, because he accomplished a very great amount of work in lifting the Massachusetts Public School system out of its Dark Age and pushing it vigorously forward. During his twelve years of office, more than two million dollars were invested in new school buildings, annual appropriations for the maintenance of schools increased more than a hundred percent; wages of teachers increased more than fifty percent, the length of the school year was greatly increased, the proportion of private school expenditures to public school expenditures decreased by half, school committees were paid and their work enlarged and made compulsory, and three normal schools were firmly established. But more than all this, Mann's greatest accomplishment was that he had switched the tide of education away from the aristocratic private school to the democratic public school and had awaked the apathy and indifference of the average citizen into eager appreciation and ready interest. He made the voter public school conscious.

And second, because he did his work not only despite discouraging personal conditions, such as poor pay, inadequate budgets and indifferent official support, but open and often violent political and professional opposition. The first can readily be appreciated. He was a staunch Unitarian and he was a vehement Whig. This was

all very well as long as his church and his party were in power, but when, in 1839, the Democratic Governor, Marcus Martin, was elected, then Mann and the entire Board of Education were in for a stormy time. Governor Martin did not openly attack the Board (and Mann) but he did do so tacitly, and the Democratic powers in the General Court lost no time in launching an offensive against both the Board and Mann. They declared that the idea of a State Board was undemocratic; Boards of education should be local business, and suggested that the State Board be abolished and local boards, composed of parents, established in each and every school district.

The Committee on Education took the business overseriously and presented a majority report which would have repealed all legislation establishing the Board. This report charged Mann and the Board with attempting to gain State control over the public school system, with substituting for American ideals the principles of European militarism, with beginning the alleged attempt to deprive the common people of their liberties, and with corrupting the moral and religious ideas of the children by means of the school libraries. The State Normal Schools, the report stated, were unnecessary, as the academies and high schools were well equipped to supply the State with all the teachers needed and without any cost to the State. Any person, said the report tacitly, who is educated, can educate any other person.

However, the minority of the Committee on Education had the temerity to bring in a report also and this was so ably prepared and so well presented that its defense of the Board of Education, of Mann, and the accomplishments of the two, swung the House over from the majority report and defeated the Democratic opposition to Mann by a vote of nearly two to one.

While the most serious attack upon Mann, this was only one of many. He was being continually sniped at because of his Unitarianism. Specifically, for example, he was attacked on the ground that he established and used the State Normal Schools as a means of filling the public schools of the State with teachers persuaded to Unitarianism and that, thus, Mann hoped to convince all the children of the State of the value of Unitarianism. Of course, Mann was vigorous about his faith as he was about everything else he believed in. He disliked Orthodox Congregationalism as completely as the Orthodox disliked him. Yet, Mann was so evidently sincere and single minded in the advancement of his work that, beyond personal attack, and often personal slander, this minor unpleasantness never progressed far.

What was more serious was the attack made upon Mann from within the profession. Naturally, the older teachers, who had been content to drift along with the tide, did not like Mann's energy and forcefulness and, when it became evident that he was winning the great body of citizens to favor what seemed to be radical change and development, these teachers became distressed.

Mann's famous Seventh Annual Report gave them an opportunity to jump him. This report was a description of European schools, as Mann had seen them in a recently completed tour of study and investigation. Thirty-one grammar school teachers of Boston, raising the old flag of insidious foreign propaganda, forthwith wrote and published a hundred and forty-four page pamphlet which, they hoped, would cause Mann's overthrow.

The respectable school masters, speaking generally at first, alleged that Mann was ignorant of education altogether as a lawyer, that he misrepresented the condition of the public schools in order to make his glory as a reformer and uplifter shine the brighter, and that he was always making hasty conclusions from inadequate observations and cogitations. And then, after doing their best to minimize the worth of the normal schools, they settled down to particulars, selecting three subjects, favorites of Mann, namely; reading, corporal punishment and oral teaching, and went to great length to discredit Mann's views and to uphold antagonistic principles. Mann, naturally, replied to this pamphlet attack. The masters responded in kind. Mann returned their shot, and thus, as partisans of both sides jumped into print, a pamphlet war broke out to the amusement of everyone not immediately concerned and, luckily, to the advancement of education itself.

One of these valuable consequences was the founding of the Massachusetts Teachers' Association in 1845 for the purpose of systematizing the attack upon Mann. The call for the first meeting was for "practical teachers" and it was definitely antagonistic to Mann at first. But other meetings adopted a less firm attitude and eventually the ruffled spirits of the practical teachers were mollified as State support was given to the organization. In 1853, after seven years of incorporation, the General Court gave the body \$300 annually, increasing the sum to \$600 until 1865, \$800 then until 1875 when the gift was reduced to \$300 permanently. Naturally, this body, once lifted out of controversy, became a valuable stabilizing force and, whimsically enough, has since done much to develop the very ideas that Mann introduced.

The second value, out of the Mann-Boston school masters' battle,

was the erection of buildings at the Bridgewater and Westfield State Normal Schools. About fifty Boston men, anxious to show Mann that he was not without friends and supporters, and knowing that the normal schools were the dearest children of his mind, offered to give five thousand dollars if the State would appropriate as much, to provide buildings for the normal schools. Charles Sumner, a leader, gave his bond for the total gift. The General Court jumped at the offer and the buildings were put up at the two schools. Unfortunately, the ten thousand was not sufficient and Mann himself dug down in his own private pocket and found the seven hundred dollars necessary to finish the buildings. These tangible memorials to Mann are thus far more significant than might otherwise have been the case—for they also were made possible only through his personal sacrifice.

While, of course, the very essence of the teacher is conservatism, it is difficult to understand how Mann could have attracted such opposition within his own profession. That he suffered from it is certain (probably it was one of the reasons for his resigning the Secretaryship and going to his rest in Congress), and that the controversy dissipated his efforts, wasted his time and, in general, handicapped the progress of education in the Commonwealth is beyond doubt.

Be that as it may, after a century, the position of Mann is easily evaluated. He was not an originator; neither was he a thinker in the philosophical sense. His genius consisted in gathering up through reading and observation, facts, details and theories—the original ideas of other men—digesting them thoroughly and then, making a synthesis which combined all the virtues of that which he had taken in, persuading the people of the Commonwealth to give the new departures a trial.

For about twelve years, for an average of more than twelve hours a day, without ever a holiday or vacation, he worked in this manner. Thus, it is reasonable that, today, the reformation of education in America has come to have Mann as its morning star. This deification is somewhat extravagant; even as is the opposite view which, not current today so greatly, describes Mann as an iconoclast. The simple fact seems to be that Mann, like one of the prophets of the Old Testament whom he made his heroes, was a voice upon the mountains, a voice in the wilderness, with the important difference that Mann had the energy, the position and the opportunity to cause the citizens to listen to him, and listening, respond. Like the prophets, too, Mann, was forever hampered and hindered by the slowness and the coldness exhibited by the folks to whom he

preached. For example, in his biography, he is quoted as saying, "A miserable, contemptible business" and, "Politics is the idol which the people have gone after, and the true gods must go without worship," and, once more, "If I were not proof against slights, neglect, and mortification, I should abandon the cause in despair."

But Mann did not despair; he fought through the struggle for educational reform against the forces of apathy, conservatism, bigotry and political partisanship, and when he laid down his burden he left foundations so broad and stable that, although there have been struggles over the advancement of education, the forces of reaction have never prevailed in any important matter and, from his service, the history of education in Massachusetts has gone forward without any back-sliding.

IMPORTANT EVENTS DURING MANN'S TERM OF OFFICE

Although the leader in education, Mann was not the only laborer in the vineyard and his period of twelve years witnessed other steps forward besides those with which his name is intimately concerned. In 1837, for example, Mary Lyon founded Mt. Holyoke Seminary to give girls secondary education. In 1838, the General Court passed an act which authorized the formation of Union School Districts, making it possible for small and poor districts to pool their funds and thus making the first stride towards consolidation of small schools. In 1840, Springfield employed the first city school superintendent, initiating a general movement in the cities towards unifying their school systems—a step followed by Boston in 1851 and by Worcester in 1855. In 1845 the City of Boston schools initiated the first written examinations and began the combining of reading and writing schools and the grammar schools under one principal, assisted by several teachers. In 1847, the General Court began the modern development of penology by founding the State Reform School at Westborough, for the specialized teaching of juvenile offenders; and, beginning in 1846, came the first rays of modern teaching, the introduction of science into the public schools, a movement led by the great botanist, Asa Gray, the great biologist, Louis Agassiz, and the geographer, Arnold Guyot.

BARNAS SEARS—1848-1855

To follow a personage like Mann means to be eclipsed in importance. Such was the fate of Mann's immediate successor, Barnas Sears and, in fact, all succeeding Secretaries down to the abolishment of the Board of Education. This relative lack of outstanding leadership

has also been conditioned by a great difference in social conditions. Mann worked with a specific problem, with a practically homogeneous citizenry and with a people who were, in the majority, agricultural. Since that time, and beginning with Sears, these facts altered very greatly—the balance of power swung from the farmers to the manufacturing and commercial interests in an overwhelming fashion and the blood of the citizens, from being unmixed, was first mingled and then practically obliterated by ever increasing tides of foreign immigration. Changes such as these are always accompanied by difficult



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social adjustments and the advancement and direction of the public educational system of the State were not unaffected.

In fact, Sears' first years in office, while mostly devoted to the continuance of Mann's policies, witnessed one of the educational developments made necessary by new industrial and social conditions. This development was the law of 1850-52 to prevent truancy. It was the first compulsory attendance law in America.

Massachusetts, during the past seventy five years, has been equally active in protecting its children against exploitation by parents and employers and against self-caused injury, particularly, in this second sense, by keeping them off the streets and in the schools. By 1850, truancy conditions in the State were alarming—it is said that about a third of the children in the larger towns, where manufacturing had

sprung up, were habitual truants. That year, the General Court passed an act authorizing towns to make laws to prevent truancy. This law was, of course, but a gesture, but teeth were put into the law two years later when the Court required the towns to pass truancy laws. However, it was not until 1873 that truancy was really decreased, when the General Court required all towns to appoint paid truant officers whose duty was to be that of shepherding the children, who wanted to "hook school," into their classes. Boys being boys, and schools schools, truancy is still an ancient and honorable institution widely observed, but the present day truant officer, if wisely selected and faithful in his duty, does, by unremitting watchfulness and kindly persuasion, keep the waywardness of boys down to a limit at which truancy is a lark rather than a habit. Constant truancy is, of course, dealt with by the police power of the truant officer, but normally he has little to do other than to show himself.

Two of Sears' immediate developments of Mann's policies were the further extension of State normal schools and the law authorizing the public schools to teach physiology and hygiene. Mann had always labored to extend to the schools the teaching of health subjects and, in 1850, Sears directed the passage of the law which made it permissible for the schools to include such subjects in their curriculum. The normal schools were encouraged in 1850 by the establishment of the Todd Fund for the use of students, and four years later the fourth State normal school was established in Salem with Richard Edwards as principal. Although the fifth school, that in Worcester, was not opened until another twenty years had passed, yet the founding of the Salem School definitely committed the State to the expansion of the normal school system—a policy that has been carried to excess.

The graduates of Mann's first three schools—1837-40—had been in service for nearly a generation. At first they went out to find everywhere suspicion and prejudice, as well as active opposition, but their work was so superior to that of untrained teachers that gradually they became popular. In fact, the demand became so much larger than the supply that the fourth school was made necessary.

A new development of Sears' was the employment in 1851 of special agents of the Board of Education. These agents were employed as supplementary to the work of the Secretary; they conducted institutes for teachers, gathered information and made surveys, and went about as advisors to both teachers and school committees. The innovation was enthusiastically received and, after several years in which appropriations were made annually, in 1860 the office of agent was made a permanent part of the Board of Education organization.

This same year of 1851 saw the culmination of efforts to help the feeble minded citizens of the State by the establishment of the Massachusetts School for the Feeble-Minded. The year 1852 witnessed the founding of Tufts College by the Universalists.

The last two years of Sears' tenure of office brought two major developments in the public school system. The first of these was the Act of 1854 authorizing the employment of school superintendents, such as Springfield and Boston already had in service as experiments.

In its essence the motivation of the school superintendent idea was the application of business principles to education. Already the State had observed that an industrial organization was successful in direct proportion to its executive direction—quality of labor and abundance of capital were of less importance than the capacity of the managers. This was, of course, a development of the division of labor—the principle of specialization. Thus, it was only natural that the school system should have considered its need of skilled executive management, particularly in its local units. Accordingly, just as the modern college president has ceased to be a teacher and become instead an administrator of education and finances, the public schools began to think that they too needed a business manager. The law of 1854 was the official sanctioning of the tendency and the scheme found favor generally—at first only in the cities where industry had made business ideas current, but soon in country districts as well, where the value of spending school money as wisely as possible was very readily appreciated. The importance of the school superintendent cannot be over-estimated. He is the professional educator and administrator who stands behind the local school board and is thus the power behind the throne. More often than not, he is limited by the political peasantry of the school committees but usually, if he is a man of the tact and skill that his job necessitates, he can successfully guide his schools through the shoal of politics and make them pay a good return upon the investment. It is not too much to say that the present high standard of the Massachusetts Public Schools has been largely built and is even more largely sustained by the school superintendents.

The second development under Sears, coming also in 1854, was the final initiation of the steps leading to the complete elimination of theology. This was, at least in part, brought about by the anti-Catholic agitation of the period. Although not particularly violent in this state in educational matters, as it was in New York, when in 1853 a demand was made upon the General Court for a division of tax money between religious schools and the public schools, the anti-Catholic feeling was aroused here.

Two specific questions came into the General Court: should public money be split between public and church schools, and should the reading of the Bible be maintained? The matter became so serious, in the minds of many people, that an amendment was drawn to the Constitution, approved by the Legislature and immediately ratified by the citizens. This amendment specifically declared that "money raised by local taxation and money appropriated by the General Court, could only be expended upon public schools, and that no such funds could ever be devoted to the maintenance or assistance of schools operated by any religious sect." As for the Bible, the pendulum swung violently against any tampering. Up to this time, the reading of the King James version had been really merely voluntary. The new law made its reading compulsory—the English version had to be read daily in every public school. This strict position was subsequently modified by the Act of 1862 which excused children whose parents had religious scruples from taking part in the exercise, and it was still further eased by the Act of 1880, which forbade the making of comments upon the Bible reading—it was to be read, and that was all.

This religious question, however, failed to affect the steady progress which was being made to rid the schools of sectarian text-books. Right after the heat of the controversy of dividing public funds and the reading of the Bible, in 1862, the use of sectarian books was prohibited, and thus the change from the religious preoccupation, which distinguished the schools of the Colony and the Province, was completed. The Revolution began the process—the Civil War completed it. From 1862 on, Massachusetts public schools have been non-sectarian.

Sears' term of office also witnessed abortive attempts to complete the over-throw of the district school system. Ever since Mann had held office, the full force of liberal opinion in the State, made effective by the State Board of Education, had been thrown against the district system. Yet it still persisted and continued to persist. In 1853 the General Court passed an act permitting town school committees to discontinue the districts, unless their respective towns voted to continue them. This law was not given any particularly favorable reception and aroused such conservative opposition that it was repealed in 1857. In the spring of 1859, the General Court passed an Act abolishing the district system completely. Such a howl of protest arose that, in the fall, the Court, sitting in special session, repealed its infant law. Again, in 1869, the Court re-abolished the system by a unanimous vote in the House and with but nine Nays

in the Senate. Yet, the very next year, the law was practically voided by the Court's accepting a petition from several towns that they be allowed to continue the district system if two thirds of their respective voters so desired. Finally, 1882-83, the General Court once more re-abolished the district system—and this time the abolishment stayed on the statute books, although there was really nothing then left to abolish, for practically all towns had abandoned the system voluntarily.

GEORGE S. BOUTWELL—1855-1860

The term of George S. Boutwell, following Sears, was both brief and undistinguished—possibly because of the preoccupation of everyone with the gathering darkness of the Civil War. However, three things of importance occurred. First, in 1857 was the formation of the National Teachers' Association in Philadelphia, now the National Educational Association. This organization was formed to support the general welfare of education in the nation and resulted from a movement originating jointly in New York and Massachusetts. Second was the extension of the public school curriculum to include two new subjects: history, an added step in emphasizing civic education; and drawing, the beginning of modern cultural education. Third, the statutory requirement was established that public schools must be supported at least six months in every year.

JOSEPH WHITE—1860-1877

When Joseph White succeeded Boutwell, it can be definitely stated that the period of modern education began, as the following years are marked by the development of modern types of institutions, by the active reform of methods of instruction, by the expansion of State control, by the development of supervision and by the differentiation due to the introduction of new subjects into the curriculum. It is perhaps significant that this period was not only initiated during the heat of the Civil War but that it was a period in which Massachusetts flowered into the Golden Age of American Literature—Lowell, Longfellow, Emerson, Parkman, Holmes, Motley, and all the rest.

The first year of White's term of office was marked with a radical step forward—the first English-speaking kindergarten was established in Boston by Elizabeth Peabody. While even today the kindergarten is a very small and unimportant part of the public school system, its influence has been tremendous upon the lower primary grades of the schools. In essence, the kindergarten not only necessitates

a close and sympathetic relation between the teacher and the children, and the teacher and the parents, but it differs from conventional "reading and writing" teaching in that the work given to the little tots is varied and even more pleasing and stimulating, while at the same time being purposeful and instructive. In fact, their idea has been carried over into the first and second grades of the elementary schools—to the great advantage of the pupils.

As its name indicates, the kindergarten is a German institution with which the name Froebel is associated. The idea was first introduced into America in St. Louis by a pupil of the German, Mrs. Carl Schurz. Miss Peabody, finding the idea good, became the apostle of the idea in the East. She not only started a private kindergarten of her own but publicized the institution so successfully that many others sprang up in all parts of the country. These schools were, however, private schools and were patronized only by wealthy families who were willing to pay the tariff to keep their youngsters out of the dull and monotonous public primary grades.

Being at best "second-hand" kindergartens, Miss Peabody soon came to believe that her schools were not real infant schools, but a cross between the kindergarten and the public school system. Accordingly, the energetic Bostonian sailed forthwith to Germany where she earnestly studied the German system. Returning home, she infused new life into all the kindergartens in the country and was so successful that that Boston School Committee in 1870 was induced to experiment for nine years with a public kindergarten.

The movement was at that time, 1877, further extended by Mrs. Quincy A. Shaw who began developing a chain-system of kindergartens as a charity project for poor children. The number grew so rapidly that, by 1888, Mrs. Shaw was supporting fourteen free kindergartens in various sections of Boston. That was a forceful enough argument for the Boston School Committee and the City took over the kindergartens and established them as part of the public school system.

When, in 1858, drawing was admitted to the public school curriculum, probably no one dreamt that the "useless" subject was really opening the door to the introduction of new methods of education which were profoundly to alter the entire public school system. This, however, became apparent in 1870 when drawing was made a compulsory subject and was followed immediately by the miscellaneous subjects generally grouped under the title of manual training.

The push back of this development came directly from the American industrial leaders, the Lowells, the Lawrences, the Bigelows and the

rest. Over in Europe, Britain had been astonished when the nations on the Continent had begun to eat into British foreign markets by offering goods of better quality and design, manufactured with a higher degree of skill. This, the Englishmen discovered, was the result of a new kind of education developed in France, Belgium and Austria, an industrial school system which provided students not only with the conventional three R's but with complete and adequate technical training for all sorts of industries—thus officering the manufacturing institutions of the Continent with skilled workmen, intelligent supervisors and specially developed creative designers. Britain promptly met the challenge with her National School Act of 1870. The American business man, hearing of all this, embarked at once upon a vigorous campaign to establish industrial training here.

In response to the native needs for technical education in Massachusetts, as the State continued its rapid development of industrialism, and under the inspiration of the Morrill Act passed by Congress, the Massachusetts Institute of Technology had been founded, 1861-65; the Massachusetts Agricultural College had been established, 1867, and the plans for the founding of Worcester Polytechnic (1888) were already being formulated. But this was not sufficient. The business interests, who, as large tax-payers, considered they had vested rights in the public school system, thought it best to have this industrial education established right in the public schools. The colleges would provide the upper brackets of employees; the public schools should provide the workmen who would be skilled sufficiently to preserve American foreign markets in the face of European competition.

Accordingly, in 1870, drawing (the basic technical art) was made compulsory in all public schools. At first, the new law was only put into practice on paper, as there were no teachers of drawing to be found. Boston's experience is illustrative. Boston said, "Let's get the best drawing teacher we can find so that we may establish a school in which drawing teachers can be trained to staff the schools." Accordingly, a search was made. There was no one in America suitable. But, in England, in South Kensington, an excellent teacher was found who was willing to come to Boston. He was Walter Smith. Boston made him Art Director of the City. The State, cooperating, made him State Art Director and then, in 1873, established the State Normal Art School with Smith as principal. Thus the lack of drawing teachers was overcome and the public schools of Massachusetts were shortly well supplied with adequately trained teachers.

But this was still not sufficient to satisfy the manufacturing interests and, accordingly, in 1872, the General Court passed an act which permitted towns to establish and support free industrial schools. However, the idea never appealed generally to the towns and cities. Some experimental work was done soon after 1872 but it was not for ten years that anything was done at all, beyond the introduction of sewing into the schools which cared to encourage the development—such as Springfield.

The third major development of White's term of office was that of text-books. Down through the years, from the very beginning, the policy of Massachusetts had been, first, to make education universal and, second, to make it free to all, so far as possible. The latter half of the nineteenth century had witnessed great strides in this second objective but until 1873 there was one stumbling block—parents were obliged to supply their children with text-books, paper, pencils and the rest used in the schools. As far back as 1826, the General Court had sought to aid the children of poorer families by obliging the towns to supply at public expense, books and supplies to children whose parents could not afford them. Like all such legislation, this was unfortunate in that it stigmatized poverty. However unpleasant charity may be to adults, to the child it is bitter wormwood; a child's psychological reactions are at once more keen and uninhibited than an adult's are. Thus the charity text-books were badges of shame and children either did without books, when their parents could not buy them, or else solved their problem by staying away from school altogether.

For many years, educators and philanthropists had called attention to the injustice of the system and, finally, in 1873, the General Court passed one of its characteristic permissive educational laws which allowed towns to own text-books and supplies and to lend them to all children. Properly, free schools, free teachers and free tuition demanded free books and thus the permissive law was at once accepted very generally and, in 1884, the General Court, again characteristically, after an innovation had become very generally accepted, passed the text-book law under which all texts and supplies were free at public cost in all public schools.

This same period also witnessed the widening of the humanitarian interests of the State. Not only was the Clarke School for Deaf Mutes incorporated in 1867 and the Horace Mann School for Deaf Mutes, the first public school for the deaf, founded in 1869-73, but the State continued to develop its oversight of delinquent children. Already to help children whose feet had slipped a little, the Lyman

School for Boys had been established in Westborough in 1847, and the Lancaster School for Girls in 1856 but the State in 1862 passed enlightened truancy laws and, to make them effective, in 1866 established the County Reform School system, following them with the County Truant Schools in 1873, the Union Truant Schools in 1881 and the County Training Schools in 1911.

Normal schools also received considerable attention during White's term. In 1866 the curriculum was revised and made to include the new subjects of drawing, music and gymnastics together with other "advanced" subjects. In 1869 the normal school course was made a full four years so that the increasing demand for adequately trained teachers could be met.

Private education developed also during this time; the spirit being marked by the founding of new colleges and the opening of these higher institutions to women. Boston University, 1869, was a co-educational university throughout (the first fully organized university in America to admit women on full equality with men); while Smith, 1875, and Radcliffe, 1879, (the Harvard Female Annex) were colleges for women exclusively.

Two other developments were of great importance also. The first of these, was in 1874, when in recognition of the natural deep interest of mothers in the welfare of their children, the General Court made it legal for women to serve on school committees. For many years, this was the only political recognition afforded to women in this State and many men now in the thirties can remember their mothers going off to the polls with their fathers, the father to vote the full ticket and the mother, proud of her little glory, to vote for her choice on the school committee slate of candidates.

The other important event came in 1876-78 when, in response to the shocking conditions discovered in the manufacturing centers, the child labor laws were made more stringent, thus preventing to a little larger degree, if an inadequate measure still, the exploitation of children.

JOHN W. DICKINSON—1877-1893

Dickinson's term of office was, largely, a continuation of the modern movements begun by White. The industrial training idea, for example, made some progress when manual training classes were conducted in Boston and when, in 1888, the Gustaf Larson Swedish Sloyd (woodworking) classes, were likewise established in Boston. These developments were fundamentally part of the "build up industries program" but they also were in a degree the beginning of the modern differentiation between the "formal disciplinary" studies of conserva-

tive educators and the "practical and artistic" innovations of the liberal teachers. This new tendency continued growing, and came to light again in 1885 when the public high schools began to differentiate their courses to meet the needs of their pupils. Fundamentally, the high school was the old grammar school which existed only to prepare boys for college. In the modern high school fewer and fewer students wished to prepare themselves for higher education and needed more direct instruction to fit them to take their place in the world as bread-winners immediately upon graduation. The first answer to this need was in 1885 when business training courses were introduced, thus making it possible for boys, and girls, to learn the principles of office work and so obtain minor clerkships instead of starting out at the very bottom of the ladder.

Inside of education itself, the State Board of Education resumed its leadership in 1880 when it began to supervise the organization of study courses for both elementary and secondary schools. For the first time, definite pedagogical attention was paid to evaluating the relation between material taught and the methods of presentation. One of the immediate benefits of this higher supervision, this centralization, was the elimination of several useless studies which, running back into provincial days, still clung as barnacles to the keel of the system.

There was yet one other important event under Dickinson—the beginning of the extension of the public schools beyond the traditional boundaries. When in 1870 drawing was introduced into the public schools, there was found to be a great demand from adults for instruction and thus night schools were experimented with, evening classes giving instruction in the one subject. The classes proved so successful that the idea became generally supported and educators seized upon it as a means of giving education to children who had been compelled to leave school at too early an age. Accordingly, in 1883, these educators, gathering up their influence, put through a law in the General Court which, not permissive for once, required certain towns and cities, mostly industrial, to establish evening schools in which children over twelve years of age could continue their interrupted studies.

FRANK A. HILL—1894-1904

With Hill's coming to office, the sharp distinction of the Commonwealth's individual development in educational theory and practice comes to an end. Beginning with 1890, the progress of the State becomes in a measure an integral part of general movement affecting

the entire country, based on the scientific study of education—the influence of Herbart and Froebel; the “new psychology,” child study and adolescence; university departments of education; influence of President Eliot of Harvard and William Fairfield Warren of Boston University and John Dewey and William James.

However, Massachusetts did have its particular movements. One of these is the nature-study development. This began in Plymouth in 1890 by the laying out of nature study courses in the grade schools. The idea spread like wild-fire, particularly as it became clear that the study of nature gave the teachers opportunities to place emphasis upon related educational, social, economic and aesthetic values. Out of this nature study developed the present garden enthusiasm. H. L. Clapp, principal of the George Putnam School, Boston, in 1891, started the school garden idea which developed amazingly and spread to home gardens, garden clubs and town improvement societies until today Massachusetts is one of the leading home garden states in the United States. Every student of the past thirty years has been introduced to this work, and many of them date their enthusiasm from two school text-books—Boyden's *Nature Study by Months*, and Hodge's *Nature Study and Life*.

During Hill's term, what might have been a back-sliding took place; in some of the more rural towns, particularly in the western section of the State, the population began to decline, and the schools grew smaller and smaller. Fortunately, the State was able and ready to deal with the situation and turned what might have been a calamity into a victory. The State instituted the consolidation of these smaller schools and created a union system under which small towns could pool their resources, hire union superintendents and teachers and thus maintain excellent union schools instead of several weak and inefficient establishments, pinched by poverty.

The manual training idea continued to develop, more classes being started in elementary schools and higher institutions being founded, as the Lowell Textile School in 1896, the New Bedford Textile School in 1899 and the Fall River Textile School in 1904.

Normal schools were founded in 1895-96 in Fitchburg, North Adams, Hyannis and Lowell to meet the ever increasing demand for trained teachers. Differentiation also appeared in these normal schools at this time to prepare special teachers for household arts, commercial training, and such subjects as music and drawing.

And still further, the old teachers' institute idea developed into State summer schools in which organized credit classes for teachers were held during the summer vacation.

The humanitarian feeling saw further fruit when, in 1898, special classes for mentally retarded children were established in Springfield and Boston so that the unfortunate children could be taken out of the regular classes and be given special attention. This idea proved successful and was recognized and fixed by action of the General Court in 1919.

GEORGE H. MARTIN—1904-1909

Under Martin things continued to progress without hindrance. The humane spirit climaxed in the law passed in 1906 which compelled the medical inspection of children by regularly appointed school physicians, who were required to pay particular attention to eyes and ears. Similarly, in 1908, the General Court required cities and towns of more than 10,000 population to establish playgrounds. Also, in 1907, the State School for Crippled Children was founded—these three things exhibiting continued concern for the health and welfare of the children.

The vocational training movement continued to grow. The 1905 report of the Board of Education recommended further modification of school work to include agriculture, mechanics and industrial arts, and new courses were accordingly established. In 1906, to keep control of this movement, a separate Board was established—the Commission on Industrial Education.

One new development took place; in 1907-09 a vocational bureau was founded in Boston to assist young people to select and to find work for which they were particularly adapted.

MODERN TIMES

DAVID SNEDDEN—1909-1917; PAYSON SMITH—1917-1935

In 1910, the strictly modern period began with the consolidation (in 1909) of the State Board of Education and the Commission on Industrial Education, under a single commissioner, aided by deputies and an advisory Board. Snedden was the first commissioner. He was followed in 1917 by Payson Smith, who ended his services in 1935.

This era was characterized by five things: further testing by scientific methods; better organization of courses, extension along vocational and cultural lines; greater attention to the needs of individuals; broader training of teachers; and centralization of administration.

Out of the throng of developments perhaps three may be selected as the more significant. First, the Junior High School movement.

In most towns and cities, the old standard nine years of elementary school and four of high school, has been changed to the six years in elementary school, three years in junior high school and three in the senior high school. Its proponents claim that the change is of advantage to children who would not have gone to the old high school at all and also that it benefits all children by making a closer connection between the elementary and the secondary school. Wellesley started the system in 1914. By 1917 there were 14 junior high schools in the state and, in 1928, 170.

Second, the university extension started on the recommendation of a Commission of which the President of Boston University was chairman. Feeling that many adults would like to continue their education, the State in 1915 organized the university extension system through which qualified teachers are brought into contact with small and large groups who desire particular instruction—be it in airplane mechanics or short story writing. The scheme has worked well; several hundred courses are given annually to 25,000 or more adults.

Third, the formation of continuation schools and Americanization Schools. The first afford elementary teaching to children of tender years who are compelled to be gainfully employed part of the time; the second gives immigrants the opportunity to become good citizens by teaching them English, history, civics and related subjects.

Thus, during three hundred years, Massachusetts has evolved its educational system. Starting in a wilderness, it led the world for more than a century, only to slip behind, comparatively speaking until, with Horace Mann, things were adjusted, abuses corrected and a long line of leaders supplied who have regained all the lost ground and now maintain a system adequate to the modern needs of the Commonwealth and the Nation and are constantly alert to adjust and modify the public schools to meet the fluid circumstances of the hectic present.

NOTE: The present organization of the Department, because of political considerations, is not discussed.

HARVARD

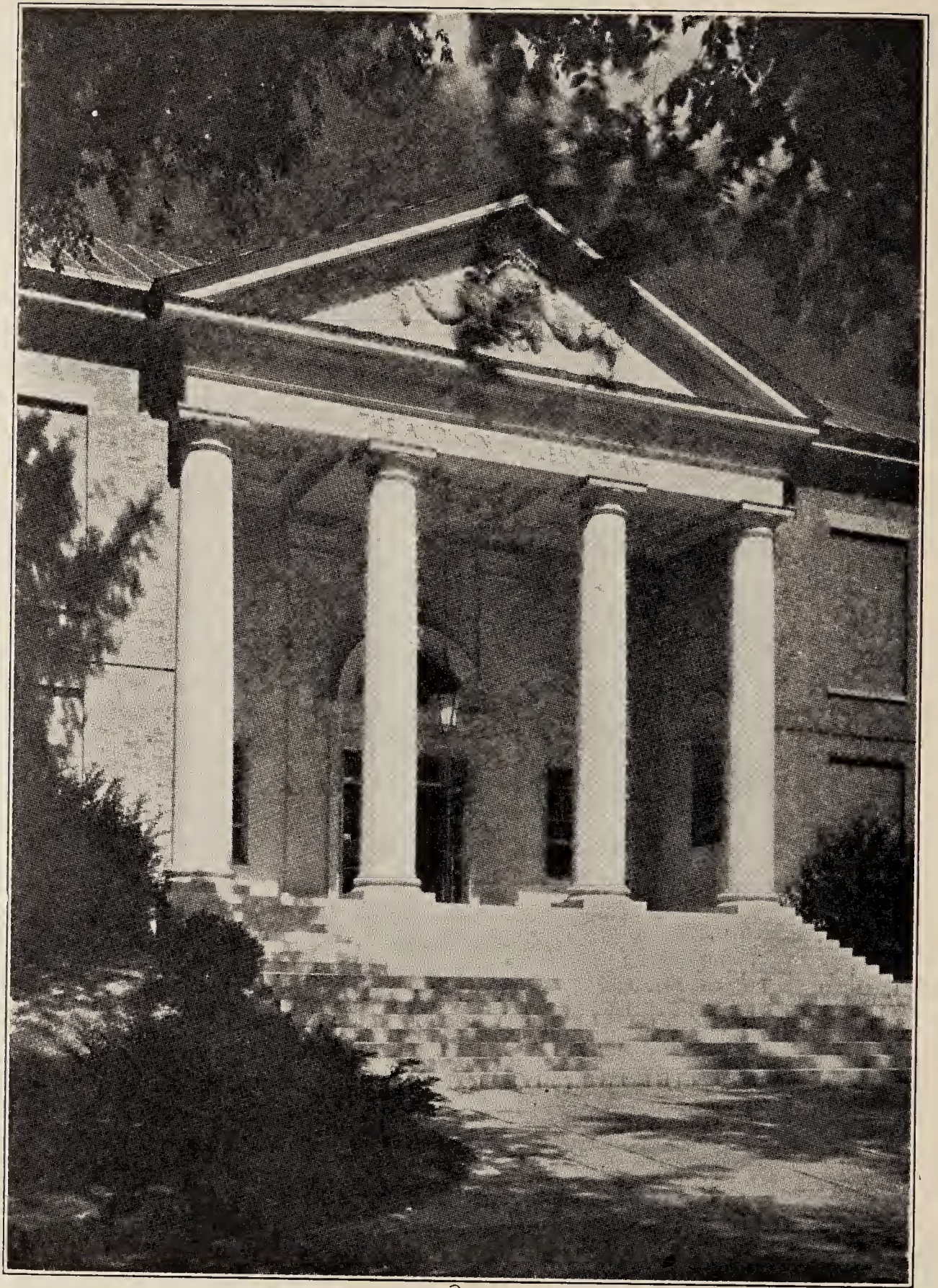
In 1936, Harvard University observed the 300th anniversary of its establishment. The ending of the 300th year found the Puritan institution one of the largest and wealthiest, in terms of endowments, educational organizations in the world. But, for real superlatives, the celebration of its age outdid everything else concerned with the three century old college—if the columns of printed matter were laid

end to end, they would undoubtedly add up to the biggest and best publicity of its kind ever. Thus, it is neither necessary to praise Harvard as its excellence merits nor to relate in detail the vicissitudes of its three centuries—that has all been done.

The first actual step toward the founding of Harvard was taken October 28, 1636, by the Great and General Court of Massachusetts. There had been plenty of talk previously. Everyone in the six year old colony felt that it was necessary that the Massachusetts Bay Colony have a college. Not only was it vital that the rapidly growing commonwealth have a steady supply of educated ministers, but it was realized that many of the best people among English Puritans hesitated to chance their fortunes and their families in a howling wilderness. If Boston had a college why then, ergo, Boston was not a wilderness.

However, it was a serious business, this establishment of a college. How was it to be done? The solid men of the Colony believed that, since it was a matter of concern to everyone, tax money could be properly used. There was opposition, but it did not prevail. Led by 23 year old Sir Harry Vane, the promoters had their day before the General Court and persuaded the Court to act. The records read: "The Court agreed to give 400 pounds towards a schoale or colledge, whearof 200 pounds to bee paid the next yeare, and 200 pounds when the worke is finished, and the next Court to appoint wheare and what building." This act has been celebrated as establishing the first college in America. Harvard is not such. The Spanish colonies had for a hundred years three universities already flourishing—Mexico City, Lima and Cordoba—and the Jesuits had a school for children operating at Quebec, a school soon enlarged into a formal college. However, Harvard was the first in the English colonies; the Virginia essay in 1618 having died stillborn. What should be celebrated about the founding of Harvard, however, is the fact that a small group of earnest men sat down and taxed themselves a sum which was comparatively tremendous, for the sake of the common welfare. That is civic responsibility exemplified.

For a year after October 28, little was done. The colonists had plenty of time if little money. And, of course, there was conflict over the site of the college. Salem offered three hundred acres with several hundred yards of ocean frontage, a beautiful site. Instead, the claims of New Town, then becoming Cambridge, were listened to attentively. There was an acre there, a house lot and a cow yard, which could be had. There, declared the General Court, on November 15, 1637, "the colledg was ordered to bee" and there it has been ever since. The same year, the college obtained its first president, called



ANDOVER—PHILLIPS ACADEMY
Portico of the Addison Gallery of American Art

a master then. He was Nathaniel Eaton of Trinity College, Cambridge, England. With Eaton, who was a new comer to Boston, was his friend the Rev. John Harvard. Just when Eaton opened the first class is not known; probably it was sometime in the summer of 1638 that the Class of 1642 assembled.

With Eaton in office, it is to be assumed that John Harvard became interested in both the work of his friend, Eaton, and his new college. It is certain that he was interested in the latter for, when sudden death came upon him, September 14, 1638, (he died of tuberculosis) he made an oral will with his last few breaths leaving all his library and half of his property to the infant college. The library the college received; there is a list of it preserved, 400 volumes. Of the estate, the records are not clear. The college was expecting the receipt of 779 pounds and some shillings and pence. Records show that some 400 pounds were used for building purposes. What became of the balance, if it was received, no one knows. Enemies of Mr. Eaton alleged that the master wasted it. However, the legacy was the largest received at that time and, accordingly, worthy of honor. Thus, on March 13, 1639, the General Court ordered ". . . the colledge agreed upon formerly to bee built at Cambridge shall bee called Harvard Colledge,"—in honor of the preacher. Thus Harvard came into being.

Hardly had Harvard been thus honored by the gift, than trouble came. Master Eaton in August, 1639, beat an assistant with a heavy cudgel so enthusiastically that the luckless sub-master was very vocal in his complaints. An action was brought against Eaton and, once he appeared in Court, all the troubles that had been accumulating for a year descended upon him. The matter of the cudgeling was not serious; that was the common method of discipline then. But, much more serious were charges brought against Mrs. Eaton. It was alleged that she did not feed the students properly. When she confessed that she did not provide them with beef, that her bread was at times sour and that it was true they often went without beer, then the magistrates arose in their wrath. No beef? No beer? Out went Eaton and Mrs. Eaton and for almost a year the new college, just named Harvard, was dark and deserted.

But Harvard College was not dead at all. On August 27, 1640, Henry Dunster, a recent graduate of the University of Cambridge, arrived in Boston only a short time, was selected as president and Harvard re-opened. But thirty years old, Dunster took the reins firmly in hand and with faith, courage and tremendous energy, made Harvard the college that was intended.

Harvard might easily have either grown up as a boarding school or have slid under without hardly a ripple. Dunster did not allow either to happen. The General Court wanted a real college, one with not only high standards of scholarship but a college in which students and masters lived together as at Oxford and Cambridge. That was their ideal; that is what Dunster gave them. To do this, he faced very real difficulties. A college building had been framed—and left a bare skeleton. Harvard needed that building to house itself, and Dunster set about finishing it. At least 1000 pounds were needed. John Harvard's legacy, the portion of it that could be found, went into the fund. So did the General Court's appropriation. The balance Dunster, while teaching earnestly, raised by private subscription in the midst of a brief but serious commercial depression. From local citizens donations of shillings and pounds were obtained. Still there was not enough. So letters were sent over to England and money raised there. Lady Anne Radcliffe gave 150 pounds for general purposes and another 100 pounds for a scholarship, Harvard's first. Finally, just as the class of 1642 was getting ready to graduate, Dunster had the satisfaction of gathering his college together under one roof. Harvard now had both a name and a home.

But even so, Dunster had his worries. The General Court refused to support Harvard. It was hoped that the college would pay its own maintenance. When this was demonstrated as impossible (there being no endowment at all) the Court did give the college the tolls of the Boston-Charlestown Ferry. These amounted to some 40 pounds a year on paper. Actually, as the tolls were paid in wampum, Boston's small change, and as this medium of exchange was easily counterfeited, Dunster soon found reason to complain that all the poor wampum in the Colony found its way into the college treasury.

Still, this was not all of Dunster's worry. His students did not pay their tuition and board bills in money; they paid in commodities mostly—in shoes, fire-wood, corn, beef, and even cows which they drove to college with them as the term opened. Thus Dunster had to persuade folks in Boston and Cambridge to buy these commodities before he could pay his bills.

Actually, Dunster managed to operate Harvard on the average with expenditures of 175 pounds a year. Of this sum, he kept 55 pounds as salary. Only a part of this 175 pounds came from ferry tolls and from student fees; the balance Dunster managed to get together by gifts from citizens, a few shillings here and a pound or two there. Heart-breaking work, yes, but Dunster was inspired. Finally, the poverty of Harvard became such a disgrace that the

custom grew up of many families in New England giving annually either a shilling or a peck of corn. This corn money made things easier for a time but it too eventually became an old story and by 1650, finances became so seriously impoverished that the General Court at last, in 1654, voted to give 100 pounds a year out of public funds for the President's salary. This made it possible for all other income to be devoted to the support of the college and such poor students as needed a little help. Of course, as the years went by, gifts of money, farms, wild lands and of endowment memorials began to come in and by the end of the century Harvard was solidly established financially; it had lean years, of course, but the disgrace of its President finding it necessary to go out begging was done with.

It was not until 1650 that Harvard became a legal corporation. That year, the General Court passed the Charter under which Harvard still has its being. A board was set up of the President, the Treasurer and five fellows, named as the President and Fellows of Harvard College, but known then as now as the Corporation. This incorporating was nearly Dunster's last service. For some reason, he became convinced that infant baptism was all wrong; he believed that only adults who knew what they were doing should be baptized. Had he kept his convictions to himself, it would not have mattered, damnable as his heresy seemed to his contemporaries. But, he publicly refused to allow his youngest child to be baptized. As a result, an earthquake shook the Commonwealth. Dunster must either recant or resign. He resigned, ending a term of service unmatched in the long line of Harvard presidents. He, in short, founded Harvard, laid the foundations of what was to be.

Charles Chauncy was chosen the next president. An older and more practical man than Dunster, he had come to Boston because of conflict with the Established Church (as Charles I established it). Not happy here, he was about to return when he was offered the presidency of Harvard. He was said to have the same doubts about infant baptism as Dunster had but, being informed that he could keep them as quiet as he wished, he accepted the post. A very learned man and essentially conservative, he was content to walk as Dunster had planned. For 18 years he so proceeded. Meanwhile, through no fault of his, the student body declined in numbers.

In 1672, Chauncy died at the age of 80. He was succeeded by a Harvard graduate, Leonard Hoar, a minister who had gone to England in Cromwell's day and then been turned out by Charles II. Coming home to Boston as the minister of the Old South Meeting-house, he changed his mind when offered the presidency of Harvard.

He had wonderful plans for his new opportunity. He thought that classics were all very well in their place but too dry for an entire diet. To supplement them, he proposed a chemical laboratory, a sort of engineering school and a botanic garden. This in 1672, mind you. Naturally, Harvard was not ready for such an innovation and Hoar soon came to grief. Some of his students deserted and in March 1675, Hoar resigned and died soon after.

Three weeks after Hoar resigned, Urian Oakes, another minister and another Harvard graduate was elected president, to serve through 1681. He took the post only until another president could be found; he did not care to resign his Cambridge church. In 1681 he finally deigned to become president actually, and died that summer.

No better fortune attended the college in its next choice, John Rogers of Ipswich. He failed to come to Cambridge until a year after his election and he died within the next year. And then, no one wanted the job. Finally, in 1685, Increase Mather, pastor of the Second Church, Boston, relieved the embarrassment by taking the job temporarily on the condition that he be allowed to keep his pulpit. Although Mather never resided at the college for more than a few months, his term stretched out for sixteen years. During this time, the Bay Colony Charter was revoked and it was considered that Harvard's corporation was likewise blotted out to the extent that the King, through his commissioners, was the head of the college. However, although Mather's title was changed from president to regent, neither Dudley nor Sir Edmund Andros, the two representatives of the King, bothered the college to any degree. Mather's term was marked by increased numbers of students and financial prosperity but, since he was not a real president, he gave the college little attention. In fact, he regarded it merely as a school for Congregational ministers. Actually, Mather left the college business to its two tutors, John Leverett and William Brattle—who were both New England products and widely liked and respected. It was very well indeed that such was the case for they were liberal men who defeated Mather's intention of making Harvard a mere divinity school. Mather might have accomplished this but he was too broad-gauged a man to bother with just a college; he had his hands in politics, he took an active part in the charter troubles of the times. And, of course, he had his church on his mind.

Indeed, as far as Harvard went, Mather's greatest work was in juggling the form of corporation under which the college existed. The General Court and the Crown were stalemated over the situation; Mather was the go-between. It is sufficient to say that the

corporation was suspended and various forms of over-rule were advanced and abandoned. Meanwhile, Leverett and Brattle ran the institution, and ran it very well indeed, so very well that the Colony came to believe that Harvard had drifted down into irreligious liberalism, and Yale was founded to give the conservatives a place to send their sons to be properly educated. Finally, the General Court, in 1701, tried to start something; it required Mather either to go to Cambridge and be president, or quit. Mather tried Cambridge for a few months and then went back to his church. A very distinguished man, he was not a real college president. So, the General Court, as a stop-gap, elected Reverend Samuel Willard of Boston as vice-president. Willard who held office for six years was an easy, cultured gentleman and amiably commuted between Boston and Cambridge whenever necessary. Finally, 1707 came. The liberal element that year obtained a majority in the Harvard Corporation. The college was free to advance. Willard removed himself by resigning because of illness. At last, after a generation of stop-gaps and part-time presidents Harvard was free again to have a real full-time president.

Considerable difficulty attended the choice of John Leverett, known as the Great Leverett, for president. The Corporation elected him. As he was a liberal, the orthodox faction, headed by Mather, was enraged. They alleged that the Corporation did not legally exist and could not elect a president. The liberals went around to all ministers who were pupils of Leverett, whom they revered, and had them sign a petition to the General Court asking that body to confirm Leverett, tacitly, by actually granting him a salary. Governor Dudley was a friend of Leverett. He came into action by telling the Court that if they would give Leverett a salary, he, as representative of the Crown, would end all the charter uncertainties by declaring the old 1650 act of incorporation in effect. The Court agreed; they gave Leverett 150 pounds a year and salved their consciences by declaring that the 1650 act had never been voided and was therefore in full force. The beauty of this business was that it reduced Mather's corporation from 15 to 5; the eliminated 10 were those least friendly to Leverett!

No better fortune could have been Harvard's than this. Leverett was an ideal president. Liberal in religion, he was an accomplished scholar and a man of the world, an experienced politician and administrator.

Leverett at once went after Harvard's finances and put new life into the moribund business of obtaining legacies, gifts and endowments. Harvard prospered financially. And Leverett went after the

curriculum. He made no great changes, but his leadership stiffened scholarship and added new enthusiasm. At the same time, an industrial and business boom swept the world. New England felt its influence and from the low water mark of a graduation class that could be counted on the fingers, as during the stop-gap administrations, the membership soon passed a hundred. Harvard had outgrown itself! New buildings were necessary. Leverett went to the General Court, exerted his personality and Massachusetts Hall was built at public expense of 3,500 pounds. This building still stands, Harvard's oldest building, completed in 1720. However, all was not rosy. Harvard's increased student body included sons of families which were not ministerial. They enjoyed life, whether at college or elsewhere and, consequently, faculty discipline began to suffer and the good folk of Boston and Cambridge began to talk about the students. They laughed at the exploits of the boys but they condemned Leverett.

His enemies lost no time in taking up the issue and from about 1715 until his death in 1724 he was constantly being attacked. Cotton Mather, son of Increase, chagrined at his father's experience with Harvard liberalism, prosecuted the attack bitterly and ably. Leverett acted with caution, tact and dignity and won or obtained a draw in most of the encounters. He was content at times to let the outward form go to the orthodox if he could keep the inward spirit for Harvard. Thus, in a time of bitter controversy, he preserved Harvard from degenerating into a religious school; he maintained it as a college, a liberal educational institution. But it was a hard battle; he neglected his own estate and died in 1724, tired out and deeply in debt.

Cotton Mather confidently expected to be chosen to succeed Leverett; to his dismay, the Corporation, Leverett sympathizers, passed him over and selected Joseph Sewall, minister of the Old South Church, Boston. Sewall declined the honor. Benjamin Colman, minister of the Brattle Street Church, was then elected. He too declined. And then, out of their own number, the Corporation chose Benjamin Wadsworth, minister of the First Church, Boston. He was not eager but, being acceptable to both orthodox and liberal interests, he took the post out of a sense of duty. He was installed July 7, 1725.

Wadsworth was a methodical administrator. He lacked fire and genius and was not a leader, but he devotedly toiled at his task for more than ten years, giving his attention to a revision of the courses of study and, in particular to the reclaiming of the college finances. Among the great gifts of the period was that of the Englishman, Thomas Hollis; he gave 1,200 pounds with which to found the Hollis

chair in mathematics and natural philosophy, suggested Isaac Greenwood as the first incumbent and added physical apparatus with which to equip the laboratory. Greenwood distinguished himself by making New England acquainted with the work of Sir Isaac Newton, and also served to put Harvard in step with the European enlightenment.

Wadsworth died in office, March 16, 1737. After another vigorous struggle between the liberals and the conservatives, Edward Holyoke, pastor at Marblehead, was selected, voted a salary of 200 pounds and his church given a bonus of 140 pounds to atone for the loss of their minister. Holyoke served for 32 years, the second longest term of any president. His administration was marked by "prosperity and progress." Unlike Wadsworth, he was an aggressive executive, much like Leverett. It was fortunate, indeed, that he was a strong man, one who could communicate his masculine enthusiasm to his students, for many of the Commonwealth's Revolutionary leaders were educated by him. During the period, both Harvard and the Congregational Church were slowly broadening. However, in 1740, came the so called "Great Awakening" in which, led by George Whitefield, thousands of sober Calvinists and their wives accepted a warmer type of religion. Whitefield was entertained by Holyoke but he went away saddened, finding Harvard no better than Oxford or Cambridge. (Whitefield was a graduate of Oxford.) Of course, many students did catch the spirit of the Revival, but spirits out of bottles continued to be more influential than the Holy Spirit, Whitefield preached. This coolness of Harvard toward the Revival doubtless caused a marked decrease in the number of students but looking back over the centuries, it seems to the writer that it was Holyoke's strength in resisting the religious pressure that kept Harvard from becoming merely the theological seminary many desired it to be, and permitted it to continue to grow into the great university that it is. Harvard did not become great by accident or by circumstance; it became what it is because of the Leveretts, the Holyokes and such liberals as they who laid the broad foundations.

Holyoke of course, continued to work on finances; that has always been a vital part of any president's job. Outstanding among benefactions was that of Jane Holden of London: 400 pounds with which the Holden Chapel was built. The College had grown so greatly, that by 1760, nearly 100 students could not find lodgings in the college property. To relieve this situation, Holyoke went to the General Court and secured an appropriation of 2500 pounds for a new building. In 1764 it was completed; Hollis Hall, a weathered brick Building still standing and still in use.

A few hours after Hollis went into use, Old Harvard Hall burned down. This was a really great disaster. The General Court was sitting in the building at the time and, amid a heavy snow-storm and in the midnight darkness, the worthy senators and representatives all turned out to fight the flames. Their energies could not prevail and by morning nothing was left of the library, students' belongings and college property but a heap of ashes, black against the still falling snow.

As often happens, the loss was the means of greater gain. The General Court replaced the building with "New" Harvard Hall, completed in 1766. The Province of New Hampshire replaced the library. Thomas Hollis of London, third of that family of Harvard benefactors, also added many books. Many other gifts were received, all stimulated by the calamity.

Holyoke died when nearly 80 years of age, June 1, 1769, with the British troops quartered in Boston and the General Court meeting in Holden Chapel. Professor John Winthrop was offered the presidency but declined because of his age. After other denials, the Corporation finally selected Samuel Locke of Sherburn. He was installed March 21, 1770. A scholar and clergyman, Locke was altogether unfitted to be a president of a college, particularly of Harvard on the eve of the Revolution. He could not maintain college discipline—and he could not discipline himself. He resigned in 1773; no official reason was ever given. Locke was the only Harvard president ever to resign under a cloud.

He was followed by Samuel Langdon of Portsmouth in 1774. He was a patriot and a friend of leading patriots. Harvard students were mostly hot-headed rebels and thought much more of pestering the British red-coats and annoying the loyalists than they did of their studies. On the 19th of April, 1775, six students marched to Concord with the minute men of Cambridge and the same day Major Isaac Gardner of Brookline, class of 1747, was killed. He was the first Harvard man to fall for freedom. Other Harvard patriots who served during the period included such men as Dr. Joseph Warren, Thomas Allen, John Adams, and James Bowdoin. No great number of students left college to fight—although many of them dropped out when, in 1775, Harvard was moved to Concord. For eight months, the faculty and about 100 students rusticated in pleasant Concord but, with the British driven out of Boston in March, 1776, Harvard was back in Cambridge again June 21, 1776, and using such of its property as the General Court and the Continental Army did not need. It speaks volumes for the citizen soldiers who routed the British that, although they had lived in Harvard for a year, 640 of them, the

total damage was set at 450 pounds, a sum the State paid. And part of this damage bill was represented by 1000 pounds of lead, torn from the roof of New Harvard Hall and used to make bullets with which to kill the red-coats. During the remainder of the War, Harvard languished; its students fell off in numbers, food supplies were scarce, books were even scarcer and, all in all, it was not a prosperous time. And the college was further upset by the change from province to state. What would be the fate of the Harvard Corporation under the new regime?

But there was no cause for worry. Harvard was firmly established after 150 years and all her rights and privileges were confirmed by the State. Thus Harvard turned her face forward again. The first task was to fire Langdon. Popular enough during the war, his unfortunate adeptness at putting himself in wrong soon caused his popularity to suffer an eclipse. In 1780, the students (possibly urged by someone) petitioned the unhappy man to resign. Langdon did not resist; he resigned promptly. He was fortunate. He returned to New Hampshire, obtained a good parish, won the affection of everyone who knew him and died at a ripe age.

Rev. Joseph Willard was selected to fill Langdon's place. He was a self-made man. After a poverty stricken boyhood, he went to sea and then started to study medicine. Balked at this, he entered Harvard and served as the college butler while studying for the ministry. Located at Beverly, the stronghold of the Federalist giants, the Cabots and Lees, he had strong backing for the Harvard presidency. Not a great administrator, he was able and faithful and advanced Harvard during his service. Indeed, it was Willard who changed Harvard from a college to a university by his establishment of a medical school in 1782.

One of the remarkable features of Willard's term was the college lottery for the purpose of building. The first effort, ending in 1796, netted Harvard more than \$11,000. It was used to pay for most of Stoughton Hall. The University received less than three percent net of the total gross amount.

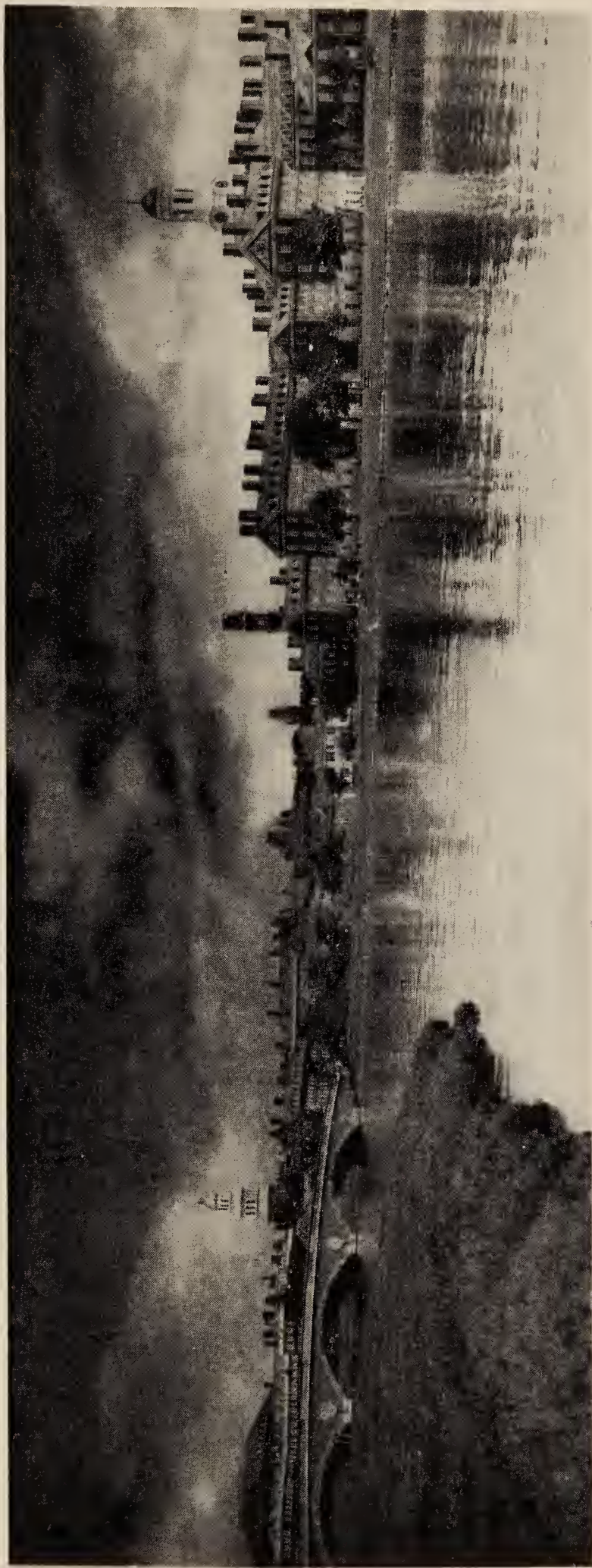
But, aside from sundry student disorders and an outbreak of sympathy with France, the great event of Willard's term was the capture of the University by the Unitarians. Willard died in 1804, right in the middle of the struggle. The fight began when the Hollis Chair of Divinity became vacant. A Congregational candidate was proposed by the Corporation but Willard would have none of him. The faculty supported him; they wanted a man of Unitarian sympathy.

With Willard's death the battle became intensified; it was the great opportunity for the Unitarians to capture the presidency. Eliphalet Pearson, professor of Hebrew, was selected acting president while the fight continued. Few Harvard battles have been so bitter or so important as this one. Finally after long dispute, and consideration of scores of candidates, a compromise candidate was agreed upon by the Unitarians and, united, they routed the Congregational Trinitarians. Their man, Rev. Samuel Webber, professor of mathematics was elected, 35 to 14, March 11, 1806. Harvard was Unitarian at last.

Webber held office for five years, 1806-1810. Colorless because of too much prudence, he served as most compromise candidates do, quietly. He was followed by John Thornton Kirkland, one of the most beloved presidents Harvard has ever had. A missionary's son, he was minister in Boston when selected. A gentleman, he treated his students as gentlemen. An ardent Federalist, he had the support, financial and political of New England potentates. A Unitarian, he had the backing of all liberals. Thus he came into office under happy auspices and maintained them until his resignation in 1828.

One of the immediate results of Kirkland's attractive personality and liberality was the attraction of students from the South; they came North to be educated in ever increasing numbers. Meanwhile, outside the Yard, politics and war raged, trade prospered and declined, momentous issues appeared and were either settled or compromised to the building up of 1861. But, under Kirkland's calm and academic sweetness, Harvard remained serene and prosperous. Life was easy in those days at Harvard. There was not too much study, there was plenty of sport and amusement and Cambridge was still a little country town ideally situated, far enough from Boston to be rural, near enough to the Big City to have the flesh-pots and the drawing rooms easily available. Harvard grew immensely in this period, not only in students and in wealth but physically. Holworthy Hall, fruit of the second lottery, was completed in 1812; University Hall was built in 1815. The Yard itself was changed from a bare pasture and the elms were planted and grass encouraged to grow.

By 1824, Federalism began to fade from Harvard. Its sun had long since set upon the national stage, but it lingered on as a twilight in Boston for many years. The first fruit of the decline of Federalism was the loss of the annual state grant. At the time, it amounted to \$10,000 yearly. This loss set the University into difficulties and a deficit of \$4000 appeared. To meet the condition, unwise appropriations of special funds were made. In 1826, Nathaniel Bowditch, the



PANORAMA OF HARVARD HOUSING PLAN, CAMBRIDGE

famous navigator, was elected treasurer. A fearless, business-like individualist, who cared not a straw for dignity or decorum, he at once set about cleaning Harvard's financial house and caused the slipshod officials no end of embarrassment. He forced through many economies, despite Kirkland's distaste of bringing business methods into Harvard, and finally came to open dispute with the President. Unfortunately, at the time, Kirkland suffered a cerebral blood clot. It was a heavy blow to Kirkland, his infirmity and the Bowditch clamour and, despite universal expressions of esteem and affection he resigned, March 27, 1828.

Another Federalist, another Unitarian, succeeded Kirkland in the person of Josiah Quincy, June 2, 1829. Primarily an administrator, not an educator, Quincy permitted Kirkland's scholastic system to run of its own momentum and busied himself in straightening out the financial tangle. At first very popular with the students, he eventually lost his popularity because of an unwise attempt to bolster his discipline with the public police power. This came about when some students smashed windows and caused other damage in a friendly riot to the tune of \$300. Failing to find the culprits, Quincy turned the business over to the police. This was utterly foolish; it is an unwritten law of Harvard that the public has no concern in what happens inside the walls. The students insulted Quincy, smashed his windows, wrote and published insulting papers and hanged him in effigy in the Yard. The police were powerless and the matter soon died—but Quincy never regained popularity. Quincy also had the old religious squabble to bother him. Calvinists and Unitarians were still fighting and Harvard was their perennial bone of contention. Quincy was no weakling, no compromiser. He never minced his words but kept the Unitarian flag at full staff constantly; thereby earning the gratitude of one ism and the hatred of the other.

Possibly the greatest surprise Quincy ever gave Harvard was his unexpected resignation in the summer of 1845. Hearty and vigorous, the 74 year old man simply determined that he was tired of his responsibilities and laid them down while he still had years enough ahead in which to enjoy the company of his literary friends of Boston in peace. His going marked the beginning of a period of comparatively poor service for Harvard. None of his subsequent five successors, all worthy gentlemen, doubtless, were valuable presidents. Edward Everett, 1846-1849, Governor of the Commonwealth, ex-minister to the Court of St. James's, took the job with a bit of contempt; he felt it was beneath him. Boston thought him the perfect president, safe and prudent. He was that, and nothing more. He was

utterly unable to cope with the students; the boys ran wild. And so did the faculty. Everett went about bewildered. Only one thing of value appears to have happened in his time; the Lawrence Scientific School was founded with \$50,000 from Abbott Lawrence. But even this was fumbled; Lawrence wanted an engineering school, Everett appointed Louis Agassiz, professor of Zoology and Geology, to the school and made it a "natural scientific" school. In the end, Everett managed to make out with a policy of ignoring what displeased him—and it worked very well. But Everett knew he was out of place and resigned, October 29, 1849.

Jared Sparks, 1849-1853 took the presidency to carry on the university until a permanent president could be found. His service was tranquil and easy, like most stop-gaps when everyone marks time. However, the peace was marred by a terrific scandal: the front-page murder of Dr. George Parkman. Professor John White Webster of the medical school was hanged for the crime. Webster pleaded manslaughter but the jury returned a verdict of murder.

James Walker, 1853-1860, was another able gentleman, like Everett and the others of this group who just did not fit the presidential chair. An advanced thinker, a real liberal, Walker lacked that spark of drive which enables executives to put ideas, whether their own or someone else's, into practice and thus become of value. Walker could not accomplish a thing. He resigned quietly, with mutual good will.

Cornelius Conway Felton, 1860-1862, opened the Civil War years. Felton was a mature scholar, happy and well liked. In ill health at 53 when he took the office, the heavy labor aggravated his ailment. His death was sincerely mourned by everyone—"for he spared everyone else but himself."

Harvard played a major role in the Civil War; its sons fought each other; the college was as unfortunate as a mother with sons in opposing armies. Of course, Harvard was for the Union. Her southern students left early in 1861. The northern students did not enlist in any great numbers; such was not the psychology of the day. But Harvard graduates did serve—1,311 for the North, 257 for the South. Of the former 138 were killed; of the latter, 64. This average mortality of 18 percent is six times that of the 11,319 Harvard men in the World War.

Thomas Hill, 1862-1868, was selected because the dominant John Amory Lowell, senior Fellow, wanted a minister to placate the religious factors, and a Republican, to soothe the politicians. Hill was both and in addition he was an experienced educator. But, again, he failed to accomplish his excellent plans, because he was not an

executive. He was too modest, and too easily vanquished by criticism and opposition. He lacked publicity sense, too. He thought he could force the newspapers to do what he wished. However, Hill's ideas were sound and they were badly needed to make Harvard a real university. He could not accomplish them—that was his only fault. America was growing up; the great industrial expansion was at hand. Would Harvard develop so as to keep in step?

The question had to be answered in 1868, when Hill resigned. Andrew Peabody acted as temporary president for a year while the new president was being chosen. It was a momentous choice; the fate of Harvard was literally in the balance.

The outstanding candidate was Charles William Eliot. He was advanced and supported by John Amory Lowell and men of nearly equal influence and importance. But there was opposition almost as strong. That Eliot was not a clergyman was of small importance. But that the old school trained in the classics feared him because he was a scientist, and that the Harvard scientists despised him because of his unorthodoxy, were serious objections. And a third class feared that Eliot would debase the liberal arts tradition and make Harvard over into an engineering school. The fight was prolonged; when Eliot heard of it, he expressed the wish that he might have a share in it. The first vote went against him; he was as good as rejected. But, his supporters tried again and on May 19, 1869, the Corporation finally accepted Eliot. Harvard was saved!

Until 1909, President Eliot held his office; few of the folks who witnessed his inauguration in 1869, lived to witness another—40 years is a long time.

The personality of Eliot is described and developed by means of contrast with his contemporary, President Warren of Boston University, in the following section of this chapter. So also are some of Eliot's accomplishments. There is no need to duplicate the personality but it is advisable to extend the accounting of the accomplishments.

One of the greatest of these was the establishment of the Graduate Schools of Arts and Sciences in January 1872. Up to that time no liberal arts students could take advanced degrees at Harvard in those subjects; other universities supplied what Harvard could not give her own. Another was his reform of the Law School. It needed reform very badly; it was disgraceful. Picking a man who was able to reform the school, Christopher Columbus Langdell, Eliot soon had the Law School a modern concern and, before long had it out in front of all such institutions. The innovation, the abandonment of the time-tested apprentice system, required both courage and insight. Eliot

demonstrated that he possessed both. Another accomplishment was the reform of the Medical School. Almost a detached institution, it was of low grade, careless and no credit to the university or of value to the commonwealth. To accomplish this particular reform, \$200,000 was needed. Eliot raised it. Thus, within a few years, Eliot had not only established a graduate school but reformed two others. He was remaking Harvard with determination.

Not yet 40, he was already working upon his dearest scheme—the elective system. It was new, this elective business. It struck a body blow at all established methods. It was untried. It was roundly condemned. Yet Eliot dared to use Harvard as an experimental laboratory to test it out. Whatever may be present opinions about the system, it cannot be denied that it marked a long step forward in the development of education and that nothing else has so profoundly affected American universities and colleges as this crowning experiment of Eliot's.

This experimental period of Eliot's climaxed and may be considered to have ended in 1886, when Harvard reached the age of 250 years. Up to that year, it is certain that Eliot held his place only by a narrow margin. Time and time again he very nearly slipped over the thin edge of tolerance upon which the Corporation balanced him. Indeed, it is reported that on two separate occasions, the Corporation went looking for someone to take Eliot's place. If a suitable man could have been found, one willing to oust Eliot, then Eliot's resignation would have been requested. The chief trouble with Eliot seems to have been his personality more than the things he actually did. He was the driving executive who accomplished things. He made mistakes; everyone who does anything does that. But Eliot seldom made the same mistake twice; he learned from experience. Thus few of his critics ever quarreled with Eliot on the grounds of his actions. There were many who opposed him, fought him bitterly, but he went on to new tasks as soon as one fight was won and thus either left his opponents behind or won them over to his side when he tackled some new task with which they had sympathy. Eliot did not bother to be consistent—that was one secret of his success.

But, this very fact of energy, domination and eternal drive, work magnificently as it did, had little about it to endear him to anyone. In fact, his dry, humorless energy made his work more difficult than it would have been if he had been a little more tactful. However, this weakness of strength was his salvation. He walked alone. He was an ardent Deist—only folks thought him not far

removed from atheism because his conception of God was so deep and non-anthropomorphic that it was beyond the conception of ordinary religion. He was emotional and ardent, too—only his emotionalism was so concentrated and so finely balanced with intellectual comprehension, dignity and inherent reserve that everyone thought him aloof, cold and impersonal. He was indeed armored with righteousness—but it was not a self-centered righteousness but that form with which a great man armors himself against daily circumstances so that the work upon which his entire being is concentrated will not suffer or his strength be squandered.

After 1886, Eliot was left in peace. He was the acknowledged leader not only of Harvard but of education in America and the following 23 years of his service were one long golden age. However, Eliot did not rest upon his laurels. He constantly worked to improve the courses of study, the organization of the University and the relations of the students to each other and to the faculty. It has been said, in criticism, that he made education painless; he did make Harvard increasingly popular, pushing the number of students to heights never before dreamed of as possible.

Of new developments, the business school was the greatest. However, it came at the very end of Eliot's era and properly belongs to the next. But there were two developments that were entirely Eliot's. The first of these was the summer school idea, now an established business of most universities but not very long ago an unheard of thing. Harvard began the summer school in 1871 with Asa Gray's more or less private summer course in botany. The idea proved popular and expanded although Harvard did nothing more officially than lend its approval and equipment. But, in 1886, the summer school was regularized with the appointment of Professor Shaler and by 1891, the summer school was, to all intents and purposes, a regular department of the University, patronized not only by teachers and ambitious adults but by regular undergraduate and graduate students who either seized the opportunity to "make up" a course flunked in the previous term or to add an extra course or two and save a year or a term.

The second development was that of higher education of women. Harvard did not originate co-education. In fact, there always has been and still is a prejudice against women in the college. Today some of the graduate schools are open to them, and a few other departments. But this is really a great concession and an even greater development from the original beginning. Harvard's first steps were made through extra-mural activities of Mr. and Mrs.

Arthur Gilman, and Professors Greenough, Child and Goodwin supported by Eliot's approval. This was the establishment of Radcliffe.

Other activities of Eliot in the golden years included the strengthening of the Law School, the elevation of the standards of the Medical School and the upbuilding of the Divinity School. In 1908, the school was strengthened by the affiliation (for a time) of Andover Theological Seminary, which had been founded in protest against Harvard liberalism. Thus the Calvinist answer to Harvard's unitarianism came back to the Harvard fold, temporarily. Another development, at least encouraged by Eliot, was the unfolding of the college library. For more than 250 years a dull, dusty, dark and dreary book cemetery, in 1877, Justin Winsor took charge and completely rebuilt the institution, making the cardinal point that of giving everyone authorized to use the library access to all the books with the least possible difficulty. An idea common enough now, but revolutionary then.

Finally, in 1908, word was passed around that Eliot, "Prexy," was going to retire. To many it seemed impossible. Eliot was an institution himself, he would go on forever, ageless, immortal. Harvard would not be Harvard without him. But Eliot did retire the next year, the burden was too great for his years; he had borne it forty years. In 1870, at his first Commencement, Eliot uttered a prophetic sentence. "We mean to build here, securely and slowly, a university in the largest sense." When in 1909, he laid down his load, it was clear to everyone that Eliot had accomplished precisely that. Most distinguished of all the long line of presidents, privileged to have the longest term of service of them all, Eliot nobly developed the ideals of Leverett, of Kirkland and all the other great men with which Harvard has been blessed. He nourished the seeds the first men had planted, pulled up the weeds that the procession of weak presidents had allowed to flourish, fertilized the plant with his genius and, finally, harvested the growth of two and a half centuries. He delivered to his successor not a college with a handful of weak, independent planetary professional schools, but a modern university, a great university—Harvard!

If Eliot expanded Harvard, his successor consolidated the gains that had been made. This successor was Abbott Lawrence Lowell. Those of us who were students during his administration used to consider him something of a "stuffed shirt" and used to wonder how he could be so human as to walk through the Yard with his little dog. We were wrong about Lowell—but we were no more in error than most of the graduates of the time; Lowell was misunderstood

then by many and, even today, he is not thoroughly appreciated. His was a difficult task; any man who follows a genius must expect criticism and misrepresentation. Lowell received both. Thus, although in his own right, an educator and an administrator of the first rank, it was his fate to suffer from contrast with Eliot—he could not escape Eliot's shadow.

Few presidents were more happily chosen than Lowell. His family is easily one of the most distinguished in the Commonwealth, ranking not only financially and socially, but industrially as well. Further, at least in the generation of which Lowell was a member, the family was distinguished by intellectual accomplishment—Lowell himself was an established authority and a teacher of government; his brother, Percival, was the noted astronomer; his sister, Amy, was the much-discussed poet. Further, the family had for generations been closely identified with Harvard; professors, fellows, overseers, they had served Harvard since 1721. James Russell Lowell, the teacher and poet, was but the most distinguished of the long line of the six generations culminating in the new president.

No other candidate was advanced to take Eliot's place. Lowell was selected in January, 1909 and took over the office in May when Eliot retired. In his inaugural address, Lowell sounded the key-note of his administration. He said, in part, that “. . . the college ought to produce, not defective specialists, but men intellectually well rounded, of wide sympathies and unfettered judgment. At the same time, they ought to be trained to hard and accurate thought . . . (by) . . . continuous application. Surely the essence of a liberal education consists in an attitude of mind, a familiarity with methods of thought, an ability to use information rather than a memory stocked with facts, however valuable such a storehouse may be. . . . The university touches the community at many points, and as times goes on it ought to serve the public through ever increasing channels. But all its activities are more or less connected with, and most of them are based upon, the college. It is there that character ought to be shaped, that aspirations ought to be formed, that citizens ought to be trained, and scholarly tastes implanted.”

This was not only a statement of belief; it was also a plan of action. It served notice that Lowell's chief concern was to be with Harvard College and not the graduate schools. He did not think any the less of the graduate departments; he simply gave them less of his time because he felt that the College needed reform. Upon that reform he concentrated his energy.

First of all, or at least that is how it seemed to his students, he

attacked the easy-going, haphazard undergraduate attitude that a "C" mark in most courses was perfectly satisfactory; "C" was the gentleman's grade. As for honors in courses, they were just something that were all very well, perhaps, if you were enough of a "greasy grind" to go out for that sort of thing. Lowell believed this attitude was detestable and he worked mightily to reform the student attitude, to foster an "affection" for scholarship for its own sake. One of the major means by which Lowell sought to accomplish this, a means which involved the partial negation of Eliot's elective system, was the "concentration and distribution system" of 1914. This was only another name for the common major and minor system of other universities. Harvard required sixteen undergraduate courses for a degree; the new system obliged the student to concentrate six of his courses in his "field" (what he selected as his chief interest) and to distribute at least six other courses in divisions outside his field. By this means, Lowell not only caused his students to "master" one subject but also made it imperative that they plan out their four years' work. Perhaps the only hardship with the plan was that it reduced the number of snap courses students could work into their programs. Thus, as possibly Lowell also intended, the students found that they were working harder—and getting more out of it.

The next step Lowell made was the detested "divisionals"—written tests that had to be completed before graduation, tests covering the entire college course. Begun in 1912, wisely as optional with the heads of each department, the divisionals did not take hold immediately. They meant hard work not only for the students but for the professors as well. However, they were gradually seen to have merit and, as of 1936, there are about 25 divisions of the College which require these dear divisionals.

The third step grew out of the divisionals—the establishment of a corps of tutors to ease the burden on the professors and students alike. The additional staff was opposed as expensive and cumbersome by nearly everyone at first but it gradually made head-way and it is now more or less accepted. One thing which has made the tutors more acceptable is that the men hired for the purpose have learned how to do their work and accomplish good results. Still another reason for present tutorial tolerance is that the system has demonstrated that it can produce scholars. It is flexible; students who simply wish to scrape by with the gentlemanly "C" are not bothered very much; students who demonstrate intelligence and ability are taken in hand and guided as individuals, encouraged as well as instructed, led as well as taught.

Yet another development of Lowell's was the freshman house. Within a few years, four freshman houses were built and freshmen required to live in them. Each house, magnificently fabricated, contained all modern comforts and conveniences. To earlier students, they would have seemed sinful luxuries. Priced at various levels, the suites of rooms were deliberately made available to all but the poorest students. Thus, living under the same roof, the freshmen could not help but establish social relations with each other. This condition removed one of the most serious of Harvard faults—to a degree. Too big for the free and easy companionship of smaller schools, a student could very easily spend four years at Harvard and never make a friend. Hundreds of students were thus pocketed. The freshmen halls were deliberately designed to make at least the students they accommodated friends. However, the problem of the untouchables still remains—and probably always will. These unfortunates are the students who live at home and commute daily. They are known by their bags and the fact that they wear hats! Coming mostly from public high schools, they enter Harvard without the advantage of being one of a group from a prep school. Friendless they come, friendless they remain, friendless they graduate. They do not even speak to each other. Perhaps some other president will take care of the untouchables.

These reforms by Lowell, in the main, worked out magnificently. The fact is demonstrated by statistics, 40 percent of the graduating classes on the average take honors! It has been said that education is now Harvard's principal indoor sport. Certainly, the undergraduate attitude towards study has changed very greatly, thanks to Lowell.

But it is not for his educational work that Lowell is chiefly remembered; that part of his service is completely overcast by another activity—building. During his administration, Harvard piled up more bricks than in the entire previous history of the University. Luckily, the architect in charge, Charles A. Coolidge, Class of 1881, knew his work. Instead of the weird monstrosities that might have been erected—see some modern American-university buildings,—Coolidge remained steadfast to the traditional Georgian style. Thus, although Harvard has multiplied itself, the buildings are harmonious. They belong, new as they are and, happily, they tone down the horror of the few Romanesque and Gothic experiments which have not yet been torn down.

The main phase of this building began in 1911; it continued without a check until 1933. The buildings of the Business School, off by themselves across the River, stand out most prominently—but they are only a small part of the total. The greatest single bulk is that

of Widener, the new library. Its huge size dwarfs the other buildings of that section of the Yard but it must be forgiven because it was needed to house the gigantic collection of books that is now Harvard's.

In the midst of this educational development and consolidation, in the midst of the first bloom of the building, came the War. In general, the Harvard attitude paralleled that of American public opinion; first astonishment, then uncertainty and finally anti-German emotion. As for the fighting itself, by the time that came, few students and graduates failed to believe that the war was the war to end war, a holy duty. Remember the enthusiasm of those feverish days? Thus Harvard took a large part in the War; never since the days of the Revolution, did war enter the Yard so largely.

Two things very early forecast Harvard's attitude. One was the share of Harvard in the war on the side of the Allies. The medical units of the Medical and Dental Schools went over almost at once and scores of graduates were enlisting in British and French forces. Everywhere, where any action was taken, it was openly on the side of the Allies, officially Harvard was neutral; actually it was anti-German.

The other thing was the Germanic Museum. For nearly a century, Harvard had been traditionally linked to German culture. The German influence was indeed, under Eliot, very marked. But, by 1900 or so, the attachment began to weaken and before long, bonds grew up with British and French universities. Into this situation, "Kaiser Bill" stepped with his gift of casts for the new Germanic Museum. It may not have been a premeditated gesture; it may not have been a calculated essay in propaganda; but it seems likely that such was the case. However, it failed for, when the War did come, and the University of Louvain was destroyed, Harvard definitely broke off its German sympathies. The Germanic Museum, behind Memorial, did not open its doors for many years. Students passed the dull brown building, locked and shuttered—and approved.

When the *Lusitania* was sunk, American opinion became inflamed, and Harvard faced a serious problem in Lowell's desire to maintain academic freedom. The right of free speech within Harvard walls was maintained resolutely but more serious was the demand that Harvard purge itself of German faculty members. Professor Munsterberg, a German, became a storm center. An ideal teacher, a great authority on psychology, a devoted servant of Harvard, he was widely honored and respected. But, he undertook to speak for Germany in the face of the rising tide of pro-Ally sympathy. He was even accused of being a spy! A large number of the alumni demanded that he be

dismissed. To the credit of the Corporation, they refused the demand and Munsterberg died, in 1916, still a professor at Harvard.

Lowell and the Corporation saw America being drawn into the War inevitably. Thinking that any college students were ideal officer material, as early as 1915, they encouraged students to go to Plattsburg and established a course in military science. When the National Defense Act of 1916 came, Harvard had the studies stiffened and gave the 864 students who enrolled in the Harvard R. O. T. C. credit for their work toward a degree. Lowell asked the French government to send over French Army officers to aid in instruction. France complied and the course enrollment leaped to 1,227. In 1917, the Naval School was founded and it expanded like a mushroom, eventually overflowing the Yard and covering the Common. At one time it had more than 5,000 students.

Lowell not only encouraged the students to serve the nation (He pleaded with them not to mistake excitement for duty but to prepare themselves before enlisting so as to serve America better.) but he supported such members of the faculty as wished to serve. The Chemistry Department practically was given over to the War Department. The Medical School and the Dental School, the Law School, the German Department, Bussey Institute—practically every division of the University shared in the prosecution of the War according to its own special abilities.

And yet, despite all this enthusiasm, business continued as usual; Harvard continued to function, although the enrollment dropped and all non-study activities were greatly curtailed. In 1918, the War Department nearly took over what parts of the University it did not already have when the Students' Army Training Corps put every boy in uniform who could see a barn door and stand up without falling down. But this did not last long. By Christmas, 1918, the breakup of military units began and by April of 1919, the University was nearly back to normal. All in all, more than 11,000 Harvard men served against Germany. Of them, 373 were killed. The slender white spire of the Memorial Chapel, rising out of the elms of the Yard, built in 1932, records their sacrifice. It also honors the three Harvard men who died for Germany!

To complete the restoration to normal, Lowell and his advisors faced a stupendous task. Greatest of all were financial difficulties. The student body increased by leaps and bounds; this only aggravated the problem, for, although tuition had been increased from \$200 in 1913 to \$400 in 1928, still the students poured in. One means of meeting the problem was that of an endowment. The alumni were

approached; they responded with \$13,789,764—thus doing so well that a sort of permanent alumni financial campaign has been established, to the great peace of mind of the University Treasurer's office.

In general, academic life returned to its old channels and no great changes were remarked. The graduate schools, however, brought to heel by Eliot, have displayed a tendency to break loose again. This is understandable perhaps in the light of the fact that they are each, in their own right, major institutions practically self-contained.

The major development in the graduate schools was the re-establishment of the Business School. Founded in 1908 as a small department of the Graduate Schools of Arts and Sciences, it flourished quietly and, after the War hiatus, crowded its quarters in Widener to the bursting point. To ease the situation, George F. Baker presented the University with \$5,000,000 for the building of an adequate plant. Across the Charles, the new plant rose rapidly and in 1927 the Business School moved out of the Yard. Too young to be evaluated, the School has already played a significant role in American business and its present able faculty and enthusiastic student body, all college graduates, promise great accomplishments.

In 1914 two new schools were formed; the School of Architecture and the School of Landscape Architecture. In 1929 the School of City Planning appeared. Thus, Lowell fulfilled his inauguration promise of increasing service by the university to the public good.

The President's final contribution was the House Plan. This is not to be confused with the Freshmen Halls. Freshmen were taken care of, fairly well. Seniors roomed in the Yard. The other two classes, lived almost everywhere. Unless a student belonged to a club, there was no decent place in which he could eat or lounge. Lowell determined that the three upper classes, like the freshmen, should be properly housed, not in dormitories but in separate residential units, each with a dining hall, common rooms and the like—a return to the old days when Harvard was small enough to eat, sleep and study under one roof. At first Lowell could not obtain any backing, financially. Then, one day, a Yale man, Edward S. Harkness, gave Lowell what must have been the greatest shock of his life. Harkness walked in out of the blue and offered Lowell \$3,000,000 for a house for picked members of the upper classes. Lowell, it is said hesitated—long enough to catch his breath—before accepting. Eventually, the house idea was sold still further to Harkness and he made his gift one of \$10,000,000. With this three houses were built in 1930 and four other existing houses remodeled. A Yale man thus became the largest single benefactor in Harvard's history!

While the house plan was being worked out, Lowell saw the fruition of an earlier idea, long deferred—The Society of Fellows—a group of young men not more than 25 years of age, who are engaged in approved research or writing projects and receive up to \$1,500 a year stipend. Thus, the development of outstanding scholarship is being fostered. Established in 1933, the Society is, of course, too young for criticism.

In 1932, President Lowell announced his intention of retirement. Unlike the time of Eliot's retirement, there was no man like Lowell as a perfect candidate. The choice of a Harvard president, evidence of Harvard's importance, became a matter of public concern and it was conducted not only intra-murally but also in the public press, particularly in New York and Boston. After due time, on May 8, 1933, the Corporation announced the election of a chemistry professor, James B. Conant. The Overseers confirmed the choice six weeks later. One of the most famous organic chemists in America, science was surprised when its brilliant son laid down his research work and assumed the task of administering the great university. But, if the world was surprised, the faculty of Harvard was delighted, for Conant was known to them as a broad-gauged man, simple of heart and yet strong in character.

It is neither decent nor desirable to summarize a man who has been in office only three years. It is sufficient merely to call attention to a few things that Conant has already accomplished. First, he has determinedly sought to attract to Harvard the best teachers and the greatest authorities available. He has sought to raise the standard of instruction by making a chair at Harvard a coveted prize in the world of education. Second, he has sought to raise the standard of students. This he is seeking to accomplish not by stiffening the entrance examinations, but by increasing the measure of assistance that students may receive. In this modern world it is no longer possible for a poor student to work his way entirely through college and obtain enough out of his studies to pay the university for the cost of instruction. A man cannot drive a tired brain along a college route today. He can get by, of course, but Conant believes that he would be better off if he did not have to work to support himself. Thus, Conant is seeking to increase scholarship aids and make it possible for worthy students to profit by college. And thirdly, Harvard observed its 300th birthday under Conant's presidency—that was a great job. Every Harvard man who attended the congress of the world's intelligence was benefited. Thanks to the Harvard publicity machine, the whole world profited also. Harvard honored herself; and the world honored her.

ELIOT AND WARREN; HARVARD AND BOSTON UNIVERSITY

When the Civil War closed, the energies it had unleashed diverted themselves into several channels. Of these, one of the most important was that of education. Indeed, it may be said that the renaissance of American Education began about that time. Old institutions were rejuvenated; new ones were founded. Of the 568 colleges and universities in existence in the United States today, 113 were founded between 1865 and 1880. Besides the many agricultural and scientific and technical institutions thus originating, are many of our greater privately endowed colleges and universities, such as Cornell, Johns Hopkins, Lehigh, Purdue, Southern California, Syracuse and Boston University. Smaller colleges include Bryn Mawr, Radcliffe, Wellesley and Wooster. State Universities include such as California, Illinois, Kansas, Nebraska, Ohio, Oregon, and West Virginia. And, at home, not only was Boston University founded but Harvard was reorganized. Boston University was the greatest new university founded; Harvard was the greatest old one rejuvenated.

Perhaps, of the two, the influence of Boston University, upon higher education, was the more marked. This may be found to be true in two particulars. First, Boston University was made possible by the gift of the fortune of Isaac Rich, the largest fund ever given to education up to that time. And it was soon seconded by two other gifts to Boston University, those of Lee Claflin and Jacob Sleeper. Perhaps it is too much to say that the benefactions of these three founders set the fashion for men of wealth to devote their possessions to the founding and endowment of educational institutions. But it is reasonable to believe that their example influenced the multitude of similar benefactions which, in the years which followed, have made American colleges and universities wealthier than any other such institutions in the history of the world.

And, secondly, William Fairfield Warren brought to his presidency of Boston University such high standards that the contrast they afforded with those of existing institutions compelled a general elevation of academic and faculty rules and regulations. Unquestionably the entire welfare of American higher education was benefited. Warren was at once a goad and an inspiration.

Here is what existed in American higher education when Warren was given charge of infant Boston University. In 1869, there were but two institutions in America supporting the four customary faculties of the arts, law, medicine and divinity. These two were Harvard and Yale—but neither of them was a university in the modern

sense of the word. Even today the legal title of the Harvard corporation is "The President and Fellows of Harvard College." Yale was given the right to describe itself as a university in 1887. In 1869, when Boston University was chartered, Yale had 17 students in law, 23 in medicine, 25 in theology; Harvard had 138 in law, 308 in medicine and 19 in theology. Neither had one full professor in German or French and their offerings in history, philosophy and the so called natural sciences were meagre. For example, when Eliot became a professor at Harvard, the faculty consisted of a president, eight professors and four tutors. Eliot taught chemistry, fitting up his laboratory himself in a corner of the basement occupied by the Harvard college bakery.

In the law schools, the only obligatory thing was the payment of fees. There were neither entrance examinations nor examinations for graduation. Harvard's law faculty did not list professors but part-time teachers who practiced law. Yale had law professors, two from 1850 to 1855 but only one from that year to 1869. In the medical schools, fees were also the important thing; anyone who could pay his tuition could enter. Teachers were medical practitioners and a student could be graduated in a single year. At Harvard there were examinations in nine subjects; if the candidate passed five of the nine, he was graduated and could go out and practice medicine. The divinity schools were more formally organized but were not strictly highly scholastic in that entrance examinations were doctrinal rather than academic. Chipman Gray is alleged to have remarked that, in 1870, the Harvard Divinity School was composed of three skeptics, three mystics and three dyspeptics. And, as for the arts, standards were so low that "there were no graduate schools in America in 1869 worthy of the name." And, of course, women were uniformly denied entrance to university education.

Warren, with his new Boston University, immediately changed the picture. His contribution to education falls under eight heads. First, he set up a university worthy of the name, one differing in several respects from any then existing. Combining English and German types, with the better features of the American college form, his system was far in advance of everything then known in America. With a College of Liberal Arts, with professional schools of Theology, Law, Medicine, and Oratory, with an affiliation with Massachusetts Agricultural College, and with a graduate school, Boston University was a modern university, first meeting the definition of a university—"one which provides opportunities for exploration of the frontiers of thought."

Second, Boston University began what are known today as exchange professorships; Alexander Graham Bell, of Boston University gave a course of lectures at Oxford. And, in the same field, Boston University began the system of inter-continental study; it arranged with the Royal University of Rome and the National University at Athens for Boston University students and graduates to study at those institutions without tuition charges and with credits earned abroad applying toward degrees at home.

Third, Boston University welcomed women. It was the first fully organized university in the world to admit women to all its departments on an equal footing with men. Harvard established the Female Annex in Radcliffe; Warren made Boston University co-educational altogether. He declared, "The doctrine that a university should exist for the benefit of a single class or sex will soon belong to the realm of pedagogical palaeontology. . . . Against the system of disjointed education, experience brings this fatal verdict, namely, that wherever it obtains, and to the extent to which it obtains, it disqualifies its subjects for a normal home life, either under the parental roof, or later around hearthstones of their own. . . . this claim that the progress of civilization necessarily carries with it the ultimate separation of the sexes in education, is a rarely felicitous instance of the compound fallacy of a half-truth laboriously misapplied."

Fourth, Boston University was the first in America to require the three year closely graded course in medicine and also to require that it be accomplished in residence. Later, the medical course was raised to four years.

Fifth, Boston University was the first in America to offer and to require a graded course in law with suitable entrance requirements. For some years, Boston University was the only one maintaining a three year course.

Sixth, Boston University's faculty was the first in America to be made up exclusively of professors who had pursued post-graduate studies in Europe. Incidentally, this was then very important for, while America now has universities superior to those in Europe, in the 1860's European institutions were vastly superior to our own.

Seventh, Boston University's School of Theology was the first in America to offer regular courses by teachers representing different denominations. Boston University was founded by Methodists but it never required either students or faculty to profess that sectarianism; in fact, it never made any religious tests of any kind. Warren wrote, "In the emancipation of American theological instruction from the narrowness of that traditional form in which it was, and to a great

extent still is, limited to teachers representing a single denomination only, this school (Boston University School of Theology) was one of the first and most effective pioneers. In this respect it led all the New England divinity schools, those at Cambridge, Andover and New Haven not excepted."

Eighth, five years after its establishment, Boston University led both Harvard and Yale in the number and scholastic standing of its students in the professional departments; that is in 1874-75, Boston University had 14 more such students than Harvard did, and 197 more than Yale.

Warren brought this development during his years of service from ending in 1903. Meanwhile, across the Charles River, Charles W. Eliot was working with Harvard. His term ran from 1869, also, to 1909. Rarely have two such men served such long terms in such positions; and rarely have two such men had so much in common and yet been so different in personality. Unquestionably two of the country's great educators, a comparison of the men will illuminate not only their own personalities but the times in which they worked and the field in which they labored.

Such a study was made by the Editor-in-Chief of this *Story of Massachusetts* in his Founders' Day Address at Boston University, March 13, 1931. A distinguished graduate of Harvard compares the study favorably with *Plutarch's Lives*. The rest of this section will therefore be taken word-for-word from President Daniel L. Marsh's *Eliot and Warren*.

There are striking incidental and chronological parallels. Both men were born in New England, of old New England stock. Warren was born in March, 1833; Eliot in March, 1834. They were in preparatory schools at the same time. They graduated from their respective colleges the same year. Both taught school subsequent to graduation from college. They were married within three years of each other.* Of each one's marriage four children were born. Both went through the Civil War period as young men, but neither one of them got into the War; both being kept out by physical infirmities—Warren was lame in his foot, and Eliot was so near-sighted that he could not recognize a friend fifteen feet away. Both studied in Europe, being there at the same time. Eliot was elected President of Harvard in 1869; Boston University was chartered in 1869 and Warren became its first President. Both had long terms of office, Warren serving until 1903 and Eliot until 1909. Both lived to be old men, Eliot dying in his ninety-third year and Warren in his ninety-seventh.

* Warren's only marriage and Eliot's first marriage.

There were physical similarities and dissimilarities. Eliot was tall—over six feet tall,—straight as a ramrod, and very stately in demeanor, with a voice that Professor Copeland described as sounding as though it issued from channels warmed with old port wine. Warren was of medium height, being about five feet eight inches tall, and quite dignified in his bearing. Eliot was smooth shaven save for side whiskers. Warren wore during all his mature life a full beard. Both men suffered physical imperfections that doubtless at times were embarrassing. Warren was born with a club foot. Although the foot was straightened in childhood, yet Warren was lame all his life. Eliot was born with a disfiguring birth-mark on one side of his face, of which he was conscious and which caused him to build a wall of reserve about himself. I suppose that modern psychologists would regard these physical infirmities as creative of inferiority complexes in both Eliot and Warren, and would argue that this “consciousness of inferiority aroused the mighty forces of the instinctive and emotional life” that set the conditions which favored the attainment of distinction in learning and in paths of power.

In their physical recreation the two men had similar tastes. Eliot was fond of canoeing, sailing, cross-country walking, field and track sports, and especially of horseback riding and of bicycling. Warren also found his chief physical exercise in horseback riding and bicycling. Neither one was much interested in baseball or football.

In their intellectual tastes they differed widely. Eliot was utilitarian. He was interested chiefly in the sciences, having but little interest in the classics as such. He did not love a book because it was a book: he used it as a tool, seeking in it what interested him and skipping the rest. He had but little poetry in his make-up. It is said that he rated Whittier as a poet higher than Homer. Warren, on the other hand, was profoundly interested in the classics, reading Latin and Greek for the sheer pleasure of it. He loved a book because it was a book. He would move with the sunshine from window to window in his summer home as all day long he read some loved volume. He was acquainted with the great poetry of the world, and himself wrote poetry.

In their literary style they also differed widely. The unit of Eliot's style was the word—always a weighty word, well chosen. This made him a past master in the composition of brief inscriptions for monuments and public buildings. His style was simple and direct. Once in a while there would be a figure of speech that attracted attention, as when he said that the European system of education would suit freshmen in American colleges about as well as a barnyard

would suit a whale. Warren had a chaste and refined literary style, ornate and penetrating, replete with eloquently rounded periods, and adorned with references and allusions to the great literature of the world.

In their previous training there were similarities and dissimilarities. I have called attention to the fact that following their graduation from college both of them taught school and both traveled and studied abroad. But Eliot taught chemistry and mathematics, and Warren taught theology and philosophy. Without question, all other things being equal, Warren's preliminary preparation was better than Eliot's, for Eliot did nothing but teach, and he himself evidently felt that there was something narrowing about the work of a teacher; for in a letter to his mother, telling her that he had chosen teaching as a profession, he said: "I hope I shall never be clannish or narrow-minded." To a teacher's experience Warren added a pastor's experience. Except for occupancy of the office itself, nothing is better calculated to prepare a man for a college or university presidency than service for a while in the ministry of a progressive church. The minister is trained to public speech—an important qualification for one who must needs personalize an institution. He is required to be an administrator, or executive. His daily pursuit is broadly intellectual and necessarily scholarly. He must be a man of moral integrity and ethical standards. The fact that Warren was the youthful pastor of the three business men who became the founders of Boston University, and the fact that these widely experienced business men, one of whom was an overseer of Harvard, were unanimous in their insistence upon Warren's taking the presidency of the institution of their dreams, indicate their high estimate of his ability.

In the character traits of the two university presidents, there were likenesses and unlikenesses. Both had a great measure of patience. Eliot is on record several times as having said that he considered patience and physical toughness as the most essential qualifications of a university president. Both Eliot and Warren were examples of patience.

But Eliot loved combat. As a boy he had many a "scrap" on Boston Common with Irish boys from the North End. When he was being considered for the presidency of Harvard, and was being fought about, he said that if there was any more fighting, he wanted to be in it. When a Harvard medical school professor protested that the faculty had lived in peace for many years and now were in constant turmoil, Eliot explained the difference by reminding them that they had a new President. He fought with the alumni until one alumnus

said that he would rather send his son to Hell than to Harvard. He frequently "went to the mat" with the Overseers. He got into every controversial subject that came along. He made both alumni and benefactors angry, one business man saying that Eliot came to him for his money and his advice, and like the two women in the Scripture, the one was taken and the other left. For the first twenty-five years of his administration, at least, Eliot seemed to be in a perpetual contest. Warren, on the other hand, regarded a fight as a waste of energy.

Warren was very tactful—a shrewd and successful manipulator of men, essentially kind at heart, sympathetic, modest, winning the help of others. Eliot was apparently almost lacking in tact in the ordinary acceptance of the term. Henry James, in his excellent *Charles W. Eliot*, tells how the German government seized upon some not very important occasion to confer upon Eliot the decoration of the Golden Eagle. The notification took place at a dinner where the German Ambassador, Baron von Bernstorff, performed his part of the program, and then Eliot spoke for twenty minutes on his educational theories, never once mentioning either the German government or the Ambassador or the decoration. During the singing of "Fair Harvard," which followed, somebody called Eliot's attention to the fact that the proprieties of the case would require some recognition of what had happened. Then Eliot had the meeting called to order again and said that he had entirely forgotten to thank the Ambassador. Later at a reception he wore decorations conferred by France and Japan without a sign of the German honor just received. Eliot was, however, a good listener, and apparently practised listening as a form of tact. In a letter to his son, he recommended the cultivation of the art of listening to others, stating that a person was flattered when you listened closely to what he had to say.

Warren had a keen sense of humor, quick and quiet, contagious and kindly. Bishop Francis J. McConnell, who was first his student and then his pastor and close friend, says that he never but once heard sarcasm fall from Dr. Warren's lips. The occasion was a coarse remark uttered by a bishop whose early life had been in rough-and-tumble circumstances. McConnell, noting Warren's horror, asked him how the bishop could have made such a remark. To which Warren replied: "It was an outburst of native delicacy!" Eliot on the other hand appeared to be almost devoid of any sense of humor. Mr. James relates, for instance, that when Eliot one day told his private secretary, Jerome D. Green, that he had begun to use a Gillette Safety razor, Green asked him how he would get rid of the

old blades. Whereupon Eliot observed that "they are troublesome to dispose of." Green said: "Irvin Cobb says that he never could discover where to put them until he visited the Grand Canyon and realized that it was meant to be the place for old razor blades." To which Eliot replied: "As a matter of fact, a most inappropriate place."

Neither Eliot nor Warren was particularly popular with his students. Warren was regarded with great esteem, revered, venerated. Eliot, during the first twenty-five years of his administration, is reported to have been unpopular. James says that it was practically impossible to raise a cheer for him among the students. He was regarded as wooden. Perhaps that judgment bears some relation to what was said about him in a complimentary way to his sweetheart when their engagement was announced, namely, that he was "a regular cedar post, firm, sound, and always in the same place." After twenty-five years in office, however, Eliot not only became a personage; he became an immensely popular personage.

There was little similarity in the fundamental educational theories held by Eliot and Warren. Eliot was emphatically a utilitarian. His creative idea was freedom. He almost made a fetish of freedom. That was the bulwark of his so-called free elective system. He believed in free discussion, consciously getting on by compromise. He regarded a faculty as a ruminating animal, chewing its cud and slowly bringing it into digestible condition. He was more interested in science than in the humanities, declaring that "the vulgar argument that the study of the classics is necessary to make a gentleman is beneath contempt." He argued that political economy, modern languages, and the physical sciences should be admitted into liberal arts education today on equal footing with the classics, just as the fifteenth century educators had taken the best intellectual and moral materials existing in their day and had made them the substance of the education which they had called liberal. Concerning the study of languages or any other study, he said: "I am a firm believer in the principle of expending the least force which will accomplish the object in view." And again he declared: "To my mind the only justification of any kind of discipline, training, or drill is attainment of the appropriate end of that discipline." Over against this utilitarian and libertarian philosophy stood Warren, pleading like an angel trumpet-tongued for rigorous mental discipline and sound cultural education. In one of his annual reports, speaking of the Boston University College of Liberal Arts, he said: "No sketch of this college would be reasonably complete without mention of the eminent service it has rendered to the profounder philosophical studies in a time of shallow and confused

empiricism, and to the cause of broad and solid education in a time of narrowing but ably championed popular hallucinations respecting 'special' undergraduate studies. Its stout and uncompromising opposition to all educational quackery, however labeled; its resolute maintenance of classical and philosophical studies in full honor; its fearless leadership in new departments and methods, have given it a wide and beneficent influence in the educational world."

A study of Eliot and Warren would not be complete without a reference to their religion. Eliot was, as he expressed it, a Unitarian by birthright and by environment. He was as intense in his Unitarianism as he was in everything else. He admitted that he believed "the Unitarians to be the only thinking, reasoning and independent religionists." His religion was more a matter of disposition and attitude than of reasoned doctrine. He was unmitigatedly honest. His favorite word, if one may judge by the frequency with which he used it, was "serviceable." His most constantly cherished recipe for living happily was Edward Everett Hale's motto, which he quoted again and again: "Look up and not down; look out and not in; look forward and not back; and lend a hand." He specifically asserted his belief in God and in immortality and in prayer. But evidently his prayer life was private; for when Mrs. Charles Sumner Bird asked Eliot to prepare a prayer for use at some peace meeting, he said: "Public prayer, oral or manuscript, is not possible for me." Subsequently, however, he composed a beautiful prayer for the occasion.

Warren was a Methodist. In his early manhood he was ordained to the ministry in the Methodist Episcopal Church, and although all but some four or five years of his life were devoted to educational pursuits, yet he never surrendered his ordination parchments. He was a leader in the affairs of his denomination, both locally and generally. His Conference repeatedly sent him to the General Conference. I like to think of him as a living example of the Methodist Episcopal Church—a Church that has consistently exalted scholarship, that has persistently insisted upon the ethical manifestations of religion, that has always held that religion is more a matter of life and experience than of any mere intellectual assent to creedal dogma. With John Wesley, Warren believed in the doctrine of "think and let think." With Bishop Simpson, he lived to make his own Church a power in the land and to love every other church that exalted his Christ. He prayed as naturally as he breathed. Those of us who were his students will never forget the sincere prayers with which he used to open the class sessions. I am told that whenever an erring student was brought before him for disciplinary action, there was sure

to be first a plain talk by the President as to the fault, and pungent counsel, and then a prayer for forgiveness and new strength. I am reliably informed that when financial exigencies confronted the University in its early days, he used to call upon trustees and other associates to pray for help,—and the help came often enough to encourage him to maintain the practice. When I asked him once how he was able to assemble that remarkable faculty with which he surrounded himself, he said simply: "God had something to do with it." His belief in God did not stop with the profound philosophical abstraction which he was capable of formulating. It went on to a vital and intelligent piety, best expressed in his devotional hymn:

"I worship thee, O Holy Ghost,
I love to worship thee;
My risen Lord for aye were lost
But for thy company.

"I worship thee, O Holy Ghost,
I love to worship thee;
With thee each day is Pentecost,
Each night Nativity."

The similarities and dissimilarities of these two great men—Eliot and Warren—stand out in bold relief in simple incidents connected with the terrible sorrow that each faced when his beloved wife died. The Eliot incident, as told by Henry James, is as follows:

"As his vigil beside his dying wife seemed to be drawing to its end, Eliot turned to life and youth for support. On the fifteenth, he called at Francis G. Peabody's house, and after answering inquiries, requested that an infant grandson of Mr. Peabody's might be brought down to the sitting-room. The mother brought the baby to him and he took it and held it for a while. When he got up to leave, Mr. Peabody walked out of the door with him and there, after a moment's silence, Eliot said, simply, 'I wanted to hold in my arms a life that was just beginning.'

"The next day, Mrs. Eliot died."

The Warren incident is told by the man who at the time was Dean of the Boston University College of Liberal Arts, William Edwards Huntington:

"One can never forget his [Warren's] first chapel service after his gifted and deeply cherished companion had passed to the realities of the Life Beyond in 1893, leaving him, sorely bereft and yet undismayed, to face the lonely years ahead. We wonder how he

could offer a public prayer. After reading a few fitting sentences from the Scriptures he repeated, as his prayer, the exalted words of the Communion ritual: 'Therefore with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven we laud and magnify Thy glorious name, evermore praising Thee and saying,

Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts;
Heaven and earth are full of Thy glory;
Glory be to Thee, O Lord, most High.'

"That was his prayer. Every sensitive heart that heard it was melted in sympathy and wonder as he thus reverently met a trying moment."

My study of these two giants leads me to the conclusion that there were three points in which Eliot excelled as a university president, and three points in which Warren excelled as a university president.

I. Eliot was superior in his ability to make his presence felt. There was something strange and almost uncanny about the way in which Eliot's presence was manifest. This was true literally and locally. When he entered a room where free discussion was on, he at once became the central figure. Wherever he sat was the head of the table. His words appeared to have more than ordinary human importance. This ability to make his presence felt locally symbolized the regard in which he came to be held in the educational world. In fact, after he had been President of Harvard for some twenty-five years, he became almost the pope of higher education in America. Then the circle of his influence widened until his presence was felt in every nook and corner of the world of thought. Even President Murlin of Boston University, whose position should have made possible a just appreciation of the greatness of William Fairfield Warren, at the exercises in commemoration of the Fiftieth Anniversary of the founding of Boston University, conferred honorary degrees upon both Warren and Eliot, and described Eliot as "The Nation's most distinguished educator and foremost private citizen." It was this ability to make his presence felt that was one of Eliot's greatest assets. This explains why he was commissioned to select the five-foot bookshelf. It was not that he knew more than anybody else about such values. It was because in popular esteem he was regarded as knowing more. This explains also why the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace sent him on a journey around the world.

II. Eliot was superior in the driving power with which he made known his ideas and plans. I have already observed that from a literary point of view his addresses were not remarkable. Concerning

them President Hyde of Bowdoin College said that he was reminded of the jury lawyer's remark: "Reiteration is the only effective figure of speech." Eliot was forceful, direct, and dogmatic in style. He erected difficulties and drove through them, thus getting the reputation of being a radical. He was not hampered by consistency. No man who is a truly great executive can be consistent in every decision and administrative act. He did not wait until a thing had been accomplished to tell the world about it. In this he rendered Harvard a greater service than Warren rendered Boston University; for Warren would wait until a thing was done before he would tell the world about it. Read Warren's reports and you will find that ten or fifteen years after a thing had been accomplished, Warren was reminding the reader of Boston University's part in it. Warren was an accurate and careful historian. But Eliot was a historian by anticipation. He told the world what he was going to do. If it came to pass, the world gave him credit for having initiated it. If he failed in its accomplishment, he attracted the attention of the world to something else. I have long felt that President Warren was unduly modest. There is such a thing as a man being so beautifully modest in himself that he does his institution a disservice. Therefore, while Warren arrived first in a great many things, such as the establishment of a first-class Law School and Medical School and Graduate School, as I have indicated, yet Eliot so told the world about what was going to happen and what did happen at Harvard that the world even to this day generally thinks of Eliot as the pioneer. He was an intense salesman for Harvard, using every opportunity to declare to the world the dignity and greatness of Harvard, and was but slightly interested in anything that did not furnish him an opportunity to magnify Harvard.

Eliot was courageous—sometimes audacious. He could and did criticise (the newspapers of today would probably call it "attack") other individuals and institutions. As an example, let me quote from an address he delivered at Johns Hopkins in February, 1884,—an address that was later published under the title: "What is a Liberal Education?" In a matter-of-fact manner Eliot described "the condition of instruction in French and German at Yale College," saying:

"No knowledge of either French or German is required for admission to Yale College, and no instruction is provided in either language before the beginning of the Junior year. In that year German must be and French may be studied, each four hours a week; in the Senior year either language may be studied four hours a week. In other words, Yale College does not suggest that the preparatory schools ought to teach either French or German, does

not give its students the opportunity of acquiring these languages in season to use them in other studies, and does not offer them any adequate opportunity of becoming acquainted with the literature of either language before they take the bachelor's degree. Could we have stronger evidence than this of the degraded condition of French and German, in the mass of our schools and colleges?"*

III. Eliot was superior as a university president in his centralizing and organizational powers. He found Harvard a small college with meager equipment and with a group of so-called professional schools loosely attached to the periphery of Harvard interests. He began at once making a university out of the group of dismembered institutions. He took away from the separate schools their right to have their own treasurer, and required all money to pass through the University treasury. He attended all the faculty meetings of all the Departments of the University, himself presiding at those meetings—a great innovation at Harvard sixty years ago. He synchronized the University calendar with respect to opening dates, vacation dates, etc. He reorganized the curriculum so that a student in any one department could take studies in any other department of Harvard without paying additional tuition. He developed coherence among the various departments. In this respect, I say, he was superior to Warren as a university president, for Dr. Warren started with nothing and allowed to grow up around him a university both physically and psychologically dismembered. This does not mean that Dr. Warren did not plan a university strongly centralized and closely interknit. There are those who talk as if Warren had been indifferent to university cohesion. All such are merely surmising. The fact is, Warren's organization scheme on paper was superb, showing that he regarded the whole as greater even than the sum of its parts, and providing for vital relation to the University from the time a person matriculated as a student until he died. But President Warren's weakness was in delegating to his lieutenants too much responsibility, with the result that each separate college and school in the University developed a strong Departmental consciousness and interest, with a consequently weak University consciousness and coherence.

But there were three ways in which Warren excelled as a university president.

I. Warren was superior in scholarship. In this respect he easily surpassed Eliot. The truth of the matter is that the opposition which Eliot stirred up among the alumni and the faculties at Harvard was

* These strictures on Yale by the President of Harvard are suggestive of conditions some fifteen years later than the birth-year of Boston University, the conditions of which time were described earlier in this section. Deplorable as they were, some improvement has been made.

largely because the higher scholars in the Harvard family believed that Eliot did not understand high scholarship and was unable to appreciate it. A Harvard professor in 1881 wrote a letter in which he said: "We have money, teachers, all the machinery, but the spirit of high scholarship which should animate the latter is not the thing to which our minds are unwaveringly turned." Warren, on the other hand, was a great scholar by instinct, attainment and practice. How impressive is a list of the books he wrote: "*The True Key to Ancient Cosmology*"; "*Paradise Found—The Cradle of the Human Race at the North Pole*"; "*The Quest of the Perfect Religion*" (also editions in Japanese, Chinese, Spanish, and German); "*In the Footsteps of Arminius*"; "*The Story of Gottlieb*" (translations in Arabic and German); "*Constitutional Law Questions in the Methodist Episcopal Church*"; "*The Religions of the World and the World-Religion*"; "*The Earliest Cosmologies—the Universe in the Thought of the Ancient Babylonians, Egyptians, Greeks, etc.*" (translated into German by Dr. Archenhold, director of Berlin-Treptow Sternwarte, 1922); "*The Universe as Pictured in Milton's Paradise Lost.*" Warren was not only superior to Eliot as a scholar, he was unquestionably one of the truest and profoundest scholars of his generation. Borden P. Bowne, the great philosopher, once said that Dr. Warren's mind, considered just as an intellectual instrument, was one of the most remarkable he had ever known.

II. Warren was superior in his breadth of view. Broad and narrow are relative terms. Eliot was by many measurements a very big man; but by comparison with Warren there was something almost provincial about him. Henry James quotes letters written by Eliot revealing Eliot's estimate of Roman Catholicism, his feeling toward the slave-holding class in the South, his attitude toward foreigners, and his thoughts on many subjects which show that Eliot's narrowness, or his intensity of nature—call it what you please—made him a man of prejudices. On the other hand, we have Warren, who thought in terms of continents and whose interests were cosmic. No one who ever took Warren's course in "The Religions of the World and the World Religion" could fail to feel the great breadth of the man's views. He was tolerant, charitable in his judgments of others, seeing the good in others no matter how widely they differed from him in language, religion or social position.

III. Warren was superior in his pioneering instincts. He saw more clearly than Eliot did what conditions were and how to remedy them. This is instanced in the educational standards he erected in Boston University. Warren was a pioneer in the educational army,

pushing out in front of the rest, clearing away obstructions, removing barbed-wire entanglements, building bridges, and making it easier for the rest to follow. Eliot, moving up with the army of occupation, so dominated his followers that they became oblivious of the work of the pioneer. In a word, Eliot was more aggressive than Warren. Warren was more progressive than Eliot. Both men were great,—and greater because of their aggressiveness and progressiveness, respectively. As to which was the greater, we can leave the final verdict to history after

“The tumult and the shouting dies;
The captains and the kings depart.”

It would not be surprising if some one should ask at this point for an explanation as to why Harvard has so far outdistanced Boston University in getting money. Two remarks may be made in reply. First, Boston University suffered heavy property losses in the great fire of 1872—losses from which it took time and heroic effort to recover. The second explanation is to be found in the constituencies represented by Eliot and Warren. We must remember that Harvard is the oldest educational institution in America. At the time when Eliot became President of Harvard, and Warren of Boston University, Harvard was already 233 years old, and Boston University had just been chartered. Eliot's generation of Harvard men were the heirs of 233 years of accumulated wealth and property and sentiments and traditions, while Warren and his confreres were the ancestors of whatever Boston University might become. It is one thing to be the heir of a great institution; it is entirely a different thing to be the ancestor.

Yet notwithstanding all of this, and though Harvard has far outdistanced Boston University financially, yet both Eliot and Warren lived long enough to see Boston University's alumni among the most distinguished citizens of the world, and to see its student enrollment as great as Harvard's and Yale's combined. They also lived to see—and let this be said to the credit of the sons of the wealthier university—Harvard men of these latter days show both breadth of view and sense of proportion by contributing of their service and substance where substance and service are sorely needed, namely: to Boston University.

Eliot and Warren, the dynamic characters of the renaissance of higher education in New England! Eliot and Warren, both educational statesmen so great that if either one is omitted the story of the new era in education is only half told. Eliot and Warren, more

majestic than mountains and more interesting than books, the kind of men one thinks of when he reads the saying of Protagoras, "Man is the measure of all things." As atoms are small and stars large by comparison with man, so Eliot and Warren have become the standard by which we ascertain the size of other leaders in the educational world. Both men are so great that either man is paid a compliment by being compared with the other, and either is complimented as much as the other. Contemporaneously they consecrated their long lives and superb powers to the advancement of higher education, Eliot through Harvard, and Warren through Boston University—two great universities that are neighbors geographically, and neighborly in spirit, with mutual respect and good will. And although both universities are changing all the time (as they ought to), yet you cannot study Harvard without thinking of Eliot, nor Boston University without thinking of Warren: for "an institution is the lengthening shadow of a great and victorious personality."

BOSTON UNIVERSITY—SIXTY-EIGHT YEARS (1869-1937)*

Although the newspapers of May 26, 1869 printed scarcely a word about the Massachusetts Governor, William Claflin, signing the legislative bill approving the charter of incorporation for a new university, Boston University, they dwelt at length on the prevailing fad for velocipede riding, the approaching peace jubilee, the cabinet of President Ulysses S. Grant, a heat wave, and the deplorable number of office seekers swarming about the White House in the nation's capital.

However, regardless of newspaper reports or lack of them, only a decade later, the United States Commissioner of Education said of that ten-year-old Boston University:

"Prominent in the highest degree among the institutions of recent foundation stands Boston University . . . rich in endowment, imbued with advanced ideas of impartial and universal education, it is unquestionably destined to exercise a determining influence in the new methods of education which the time demands and for which it is expectantly waiting."†

Thirty-two years later, when the third president of this same University, Lemuel Herbert Murlin, was inaugurated, the former Governor of Massachusetts, John L. Bates, a trustee, declared:

"To be called to the presidency of Boston University requires devotion, judgment, patience, experience, and other talents of the

* By Eleanor Rust Mosely.

† Daniel L. Marsh—"The Founders of Boston University," 1932.

highest order. It is unique among institutions. It follows no beaten path, but blazes its own."*

A quarter of a century later, when the fourth and present president had held the office for ten years, at a testimonial dinner tendered Dr. Daniel L. Marsh in February 1936, Gaspar G. Bacon, secretary of the board of trustees and former lieutenant-governor of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, said:

"Plain speaking, straight thinking, and willingness to leave the beaten track and assume responsibility for the results are attributes of leadership. These President Marsh possesses in high degree . . . we honor here tonight its (Boston University) President of the past ten years, years of evolution and achievement, years of expansion and coordination, years of struggle and success."†

These remarks of three civic leaders spoken by members of three different generations, may well sound the keynote of any record of Boston University's growth. Founded by three of Boston's men of affairs, Isaac Rich, Lee Claflin, and Jacob Sleeper, successful in business, religious in background and outlook, and imbued with a common desire to contribute to the civic welfare of their city, state and nation, Boston University has expanded on the firm foundations of broad tolerance with which they honored its birth. The gift of their fortunes to Boston University was the largest financial benefaction given to higher education in this country up to that time. In establishing the University as a means of promoting virtue, piety and learning in the useful and liberal arts and sciences, its doors open alike to all races, all religious faiths, and to both sexes, these three men built more strongly than perhaps even they in their depth of vision, realized. For unfettered by hampering bonds of any kind, the young University forged rapidly into the front ranks of American education.

In its sixty-eight years of progress, Boston University has been directed by only four men: William Fairfield Warren, 1869-1903; William Edwards Huntington, 1904-1911; Lemuel Herbert Murlin, 1911-1925; and Daniel L. Marsh, 1926—.

In their far-sighted wisdom, the three founders called the youthful pastor of their church, William Fairfield Warren, to be the first worker on their dream. He was actually in the presidency for thirty-six years, as he was head of the school which was the University's nucleus, the School of Theology, for three years before the signing of the University charter and for three years following, before he actually became

* Daniel L. Marsh "The Founders of Boston University," 1932.

† "Bostonia," March, 1936, Decade Dinner.

president of the University. Under the leadership of this scholar who has been described as "superior in scholarship, breadth of view, and in his pioneering instincts,"* Boston University rapidly assumed first rank in what today are accepted as commonplaces of the educational world.

Although chartered in 1869, it did not begin to operate as a university until the adoption of the Boston Theological Seminary in 1871.† In 1872 the departments of Law and Music were opened, and a medical school, this latter absorbing the New England Female Medical College, founded in 1848. In 1873 the College of Oratory and the College of Liberal Arts, came into being.‡ In 1874 the Graduate School was organized.

President Warren's successor, William Edwards Huntington, characterized as the "dear dean," is recorded in the development of this large American University as "cultured and conservative in thought, while progressive and liberal in administration."§ During his brief administration of seven years, he carried through his aim announced at his inauguration: "to safeguard and foster Boston University's natural growth in every way."§ Under his direction the number of members on the board of trustees was increased from twenty-eight to fifty, representing a wider community of interests; money was raised for a \$400,000 endowment; attention was directed toward the securing of more men students for more ideal conditions for coeducation, a move out of which eventually grew the College of Business Administration; athletics were developed; a larger range of scientific and historic courses was provided; university extension courses were started, out of which grew, later, the College of Practical Arts and Letters; courses in education and music were begun, and these also, paved the way for the later School of Education and College of Music; the trustees donated the ground for the present Evans Memorial, research laboratories for the medical school; a new and more commodious home for the College of Liberal Arts was acquired and furnished. President Huntington wanted Boston University to be "distinctive," and to this end he fostered and directed development of the idea of graduate schools and aimed toward a more coordinated spirit among the separate schools of the University.

It remained for his successor, President Murlin, to take up the heavy responsibilities in 1911, and bring to full bloom many of these new ideas and plans. President Murlin may be characterized as a practical dreamer. He found five departments of Boston University in

* Daniel L. Marsh, "Warren and Eliot." 1931.

† Historical Note, General Catalogue. 1937.

‡ Daniel L. Marsh, "The Dear, Dear, Dean." 1935.

1911. He left ten when he resigned because of ill health in 1925. He found the College of Liberal Arts, School of Theology, School of Law, School of Medicine, and Graduate School. He added the College of Business Administration (1913), School of Education (1918), School of Religious Education (1918), College Secretarial Science (1919), Summer Session (1920). During his administration the student enrollment advanced in numbers from 1,425 to 11,001; the alumni body from 6,502 to 12,592; the faculty from 187 to 490; the annual income from \$216,275.49 to \$1,369,855.90; and the University's total net capital from \$2,141,105.47 to \$4,389,898.10.*

He believed in linking the University with the life of the city and New England. He believed in service to the city and to education. Enrollment soared after the World War, and courses were instituted for teachers who were engaged in active service. The laboratory course for graduates of the College of Business Administration was a further link of the University with New England industry and business. The reorganization of the School of Medicine from a sectarian homeopathic school into a non-sectarian progressive medical school was achieved. Beautiful Robinson Memorial Chapel was built adjoining the School of Theology, and the beginning was made on the acquiring of the present building site on the bank of the Charles River. President Lowell, in awarding the honorary LL.D. degree to Dr. Murlin at Harvard Commencement, gave this citation: "President of Boston University, with the wisdom to perceive the service that could be rendered by a University in a large city and the capacity to make his vision true."†

The visions dreamed and realized by Boston University's three great leaders were not lonely when the University's fourth leader, Dr. Daniel L. Marsh, assumed the responsibilities of the presidency in 1926. He has shown himself to be a vigorous champion for progressive education, based on sound principles and flanked with fearless leadership and scholarly attainment. He has declared his own personal definition of education as follows:

"Education is the leading out of the individual into an efficient and rightly integrated personality, comfortably at home with himself and with his fellows; serviceable to society; equipped to make a living while he lives the more abundant life, and 'en rapport' with the ultimate spiritual forces that lie behind the visible phenomena of the universe."‡

During the last twelve years of Boston University's history, its service so far transcended any geographical boundaries that last year, in

* Daniel L. Marsh, "Lemuel Herbert Murlin," 1936.

† Summer Session Commencement address, "Bostonia," October, 1937.

1936, Boston University was declared by FIDAC, the Federation Interalliee des Anciens Combattants, at its annual world gathering held in Poland, to be the "outstanding University in the United States for distinguished service in promoting international goodwill and understanding,"* and was awarded the annual FIDAC medal for this distinction. The large annual enrollment of the University is divided among the eleven graduate schools and undergraduate colleges.

Even as he inherited the guiding power of one of the country's largest and most progressive Universities, with its distinguished record of leadership in educational service, President Marsh was to face and weather as well the worst economic depression in the history of the world.† In the fall of 1927 following his inauguration in the preceding winter, the enrollment was 10,972.‡ Registration continued to rise until it reached its peak in 1929-30 of a 16,027 total.§ With each year of the depression, the total dropped until it hit in 1934-35, the low mark of 10,031.¶ During the tremendous increase in numbers of students following the World War, endowment funds had failed to keep equal step. Consequently the reductions in tuition receipts as well as in income from invested funds presented a serious situation to the administration. However, under the able leadership of President Marsh and the cooperation of the staff and faculty, Boston University emerged from the worldwide depression with its books not only balanced on the right side of the ledger, but with expanded educational services as well.

During these last 12 years the University has acquired 16 new properties which include nearly 100 buildings and over 500 acres of land.° The endowment funds have increased greatly, despite the "hard times." In fact, the net assets have increased more than fifty per cent, that is, more than one-half as much during the past 12 years as in all the University's preceding history. Conspicuous among the new properties are: the William E. Nickerson Recreation Field, the first recreational plant for Boston University students; the Sargent College of Physical Education and its accompanying camp in Peterboro, N. H., which is the only summer camp maintained by a University and having the benefit of all University facilities and supervision; the Deering Community Center in Deering, N. H., a unique educational laboratory for the training of rural workers in religious education and social service; a Woman's Building which provided for the first time at

* Daniel L. Marsh, Annual Report, 1935-36.

† Generally conceded knowledge.

‡ Alumni Office statistics.

§ Bureau of Publicity Press Bureau Statistics.

¶ Bureau of Publicity Press Bulletin No. 2669.4.

° Bureau of Publicity Statistics in report for Decade Dinner, 1936.

Boston University, a social center for student and faculty gatherings; the Soden Building which, connected with the College of Liberal Arts headquarters, gave more centralization to several University departments than Boston University had ever known, housing now the School of Education, School of Religious and Social Work, College of Music, and Graduate School; more dormitories; completion of the Charles River building site; a new operating wing at Massachusetts Memorial Hospital in connection with the School of Medicine; and the Anderson Memorial Center.

The plan for making a reality of the dream of a more centralized campus by gathering the undergraduate colleges into new buildings on the Charles River site, was, by economic necessity, forced into the background of activity. Announced in 1928, the plan prefaced by only a short period, the economic upheaval which left financial distress in its wake after a 5-year visit, 1930-35. Only this summer, June 1937, was the dream, lying quietly in the University's heart, brought out again, brushed off, and held up to the bright sunlight of actual planning once more. The campaign is now actively launched. It embraces the immediate future of three departments: School of Theology, aiming toward its centennial anniversary in 1939; School of Medicine for more adequate teaching facilities and endowment; and College of Business Administration, for a new home on the new campus. The total goal is four million dollars.*

Academic developments have kept pace with the changing era, even as President Marsh expressed his belief in his definition of true education. Important in this phase of University progress is the establishment of the cooperative study plan by which high school graduates who wish ultimately to take their degrees in the College of Music, School of Education or School of Religious and Social Work, do their first two years' work in the College of Liberal Arts.

The College of Music, which had been absorbed long ago as part of the College of Liberal Arts, was reestablished as a separate college in 1928.

The School of Religious Education and Social Service was reorganized, becoming a senior college and graduate school, its name being changed to the School of Religious and Social Work.

In the School of Education a division of physical education for men was created, and throughout the school the curriculum was organized into a stringent program for the bachelor's degree and more provision for graduate study.

The College of Liberal Arts has experienced primarily a revision of requirements for graduation, establishment of scholarships, a reorgani-

* Daniel L. Marsh, Annual Report, 1936-37.

zation of the College and Extension courses, and expansion in the teaching of science with enlarged and newly equipped laboratories.

The College of Business Administration also has seen a revision of entrance requirements, as well as the establishment of a Bureau of Business Research, development of the Department of Journalism, the first degree in journalism having been given in 1928, and development of the graduate division.

In the College of Practical Arts and Letters, formerly the College of Secretarial Science, there was inaugurated a department of home economics, a department of applied art, a permanent center of information concerning France, and fellowships for study in German universities.

When Sargent College became a department of Boston University, in December, 1929, its 3-year diploma course was expanded into a 4-year degree-granting course. Previously Sargent had had a notable fifty years of leading the way for the training of women in physical education.

In the School of Theology, the entire program was enlivened and standards were raised. Outstanding developments were in the field of supervision, the organization of a department of public worship, introduction of courses in psychopathology, and establishment of the unusual annual Conference on Preaching.

Curriculum revision and raising of admission requirements was effected also in the School of Law, consolidation of some courses and addition of nine new courses.

The School of Medicine curriculum was reorganized to require as entrants persons who had at least three successful years of liberal arts preparation and a preponderance of college graduates; clinic teaching was expanded with new affiliations made with outstanding centers in the city of Boston; ward teaching in medicine and surgery adopted at the Boston City Hospital, and public health study increased; comprehensive examinations instituted for seniors.

The Summer Session was reorganized and placed on a firm basis of administration and instruction with a program of extra-curricular interests created and developed.

All these changes and developments in graduate study in the various departments were coincident with a complete reorganization of the Graduate School itself. In 1928 President Marsh appointed a committee to begin a survey. Results were the developing of admission requirements, replanning of courses of study, new fellowship program, and expanded equipment for scientific research.

This year (summer, 1937) an experiment was started on a new two-year College Curriculum, having for its study basis, American Civili-

zation. A limited number of 25 students who were not qualified to enter the College of Liberal Arts, but who successfully passed psychometric tests, were recommended by their principals, and whose high school records were acceptable, have been admitted.

In a persistent and vigorous effort to weld together into a closer cohesion and mental unity Boston University's scattered divisions, President Marsh has made obvious strides. The naming rightly belongs here of all-university departments of service which were created. These were the Department of Student Counselling and Religious Activities, Bureau of Appointments, Health Service and Information Office. The scope of the University Bureau of Publicity has been expanded for a better public understanding of the aims and practices of education.

A decided improvement in athletics has been apparent since they have been placed under faculty control,—both varsity and intra-mural sports, the latter for women as well as for men students.

The bringing together of the more than 500 faculty members in academic and social affairs, such as Baccalaureate, Commencement, and the trustees annual dinner, jointly with the University Senate; the promoting of student-faculty friendships such as Founders Day program and reception to the freshmen and to the seniors; and the unifying of numberless student activities in a series of large all-University programs and events in place of the former "wheels-within-wheels" confusion of many events in each of the eleven departments—all this has borne the University members along on its tide of increased knowledge of and interest in the University as well as in its individual schools and colleges. The intimate dinner gatherings of faculty members in the home of President and Mrs. Marsh have had their own effect, too, on this part of the picture.

The organization of a General Alumni Association and the fostering through its affiliations of a permanent love and loyalty of Alma Mater became increasingly important as the numbers of men and women who have studied at Boston University move on into the impressive total of more than 80,000.

Truly enough, the man who declared of Eliot and Harvard, that an institution is the projection upon it of a strong personality, could well say it today of Boston University. History records it as fact concerning her four leaders.

Prof. Joseph Richard Taylor, professor in the University College of Liberal Arts since 1891, in 1935 characterized the work of the four presidents: "Warren—organization; Huntington—conservation; Murlin—expansion; Marsh—co-ordination."*

* Joseph R. Taylor, "Lemuel Herbert Murlin," *"Bostonia,"* October, 1935.

With graduates all over the face of the earth, working in their professions, many of whom are leaders in their individual fields of achievement, and others whose influence is shaping the minds and tempering the hearts of the coming generations, Boston University fulfills the 58-year-old prophecy made in 1879, by the United States Commissioner of Education, that

"it is unquestionably destined to exercise a determining influence in the new methods of education which the time demands and for which it is expectantly waiting."

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

Probably no educational institution in the world is more widely known than the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Although its student body, doubtless moved by consideration of the serious attitude the faculty require, call the "Stute" State Prison, the world knows that Mass Tech graduates are among the best engineers in circulation and it is the dream of technological-minded youth the globe around to come to Boston and study at Tech.

The announced ideal of Mass Tech is "to give its students such a combination of general, scientific and professional training as will fit them to take leading positions in a world in which science, engineering and architecture are of basic importance. This training is especially planned to prepare students . . . to become practicing engineers or architects, investigators, business executives or teachers. . . . One of the important functions . . . is to contribute to the existing store of scientific knowledge and to the promotion of industrial development through the prosecution in its laboratories of original research in pure and applied science. . . ."

Tech had its beginning in 1859 when, led by Professor William Barton Rogers, a group of educational pioneers presented a memorial to the General Court, a statement in which reference was made to the "expected early establishment of a comprehensive Polytechnic College, furnishing a complete system of industrial education supplementary to the general training of other institutions and fitted to equip its students with every scientific and technical principle applicable to the industrial pursuits of the age."

On the 10th of April, 1861, in the shadow of the Civil War, the General Court passed an act of incorporation for the "expected College," giving the new school the name of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The corporation held a meeting for organization purposes just a year later but war activities prevented any development

of importance until 1865. On February 20th, the first sessions of the School of Industrial Science began, with fifteen students. In October of the same year, regular classes began.

Very soon, the Institute began its remarkable development, although for fifty years, it was cabined and confined in its original quarters, on land given by the State, in the buildings on Boylston Street near Clarendon Street. With a student body numbering nearly two thousand, with three hundred faculty members and with fifteen courses of instruction being offered, the Institute simply had to move. Accordingly, even while the World War was clouding up, land was acquired across the Charles at the end of the bridge which carries Massachusetts Avenue from Boston to Cambridge, and the present magnificent plant, covering some eighty acres, was constructed. The Institute moved in time to do its share in war development and has grown mightily ever since. Today, the Cambridge site houses all the departments of the Institution, save the Department of Architecture which remains behind in the Rogers Building where the Institute began.

Today, in addition to the School of Architecture, the Institute has the School of Science, the School of Engineering, the Division of Humanities and the Division of Industrial Cooperation. Courses offered, not only include nearly all subjects given in ordinary "Arts and Sciences" but give a student, particularly in graduate work, the opportunity of following out the mastery of just about all recognized branches of science that the world knows.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE COLLEGE

Formerly known as Massachusetts Agricultural College, or, probably better as Mass Aggie, this institution, supported by the State, differs greatly from the State Universities which, in other States, have reached such astonishing growth. Massachusetts State College has remained small for many reasons; perhaps the principal one being that Mass Tech removed the need for teaching the sciences and Harvard, for centuries more or less a State institution, plus the several other private colleges and universities, made less vital the need for a State supported college. Thus, little remained for Mass Aggie to teach but agriculture. Therefore, it was and still is, comparatively unimportant.

However, this does not mean that the college is of second grade. It is not. Its faculty is of the first class; its plant is adequate and modern in large part and it offers to an ever increasing body of

students an education superior to that of many better known institutions. Indeed, the college is being held back not so much by itself as by the reluctance of the General Court to provide the needed funds. In general, the College offers a thoroughly good education to Massachusetts residents at a cost much less than that charged, necessarily, by private institutions.

The College owes its formation to the Morrill Act of 1862 which endowed colleges established for technical training in every state willing to meet the requirements. Massachusetts acted in 1863 by founding a college at Amherst under the name of Massachusetts Agricultural College with the purpose being “. . . to teach subjects relating to agriculture and the mechanics arts so as to promote liberal and practical education. Its curriculum may include other scientific and classical studies and shall include military training. . . .”

On October 2, 1867, the college was opened with four wooden houses, four teachers and some 47 students. For generations, the college grew slowly, restrained by lack of funds. For a number of years it was affiliated with Boston University. Finally, it was felt that its preoccupation with agriculture militated against the college's real purpose of general education and, accordingly, in 1931, the General Court changed the name to Massachusetts State College. With this change the general cultural courses of the College received recognition—but, still, the college is primarily an agricultural institution and, as such, it is widely known, not only through its graduates but also through its extension service and its experiment station.

TUFTS COLLEGE

Like Boston University and other New England colleges, Tufts was founded by a religious group for religious education. But, like the others, Tufts also included general cultural instruction, prohibited any religious qualification for either faculty or students—and so grew into a large, prosperous and standard institution. Located on a slightly hill between Somerville and Medford, Tufts today looks in upon Boston from the north west and “. . . provides substantial instruction in fundamental subjects.” Perhaps a feature of Tufts is its large endowment which it uses “. . . to encourage those who are eager to make use of its educational opportunities in order that they may improve themselves and thus contribute to the general improvement of the community.” Tufts is a friendly college and each year grows in importance. In addition to the usual arts and science instruction, the College supports a divinity school, engineering schools, a dental school and a medical school.

WILLIAMS AND AMHERST

Out in the western half of the State are two colleges, smaller in size than the eastern giants but, perhaps richer in college spirit and individual devotion than the big "thinking factories" about Boston can possibly be. Amherst in the town of that name, was named in honor of the British General, Lord Jeffry Amherst in 1821 and was incorporated in 1825. It fills the center of its placid village with its mellow brick buildings, a peaceful, happy embodiment of the academic ideal of New England.

Williams, to the north, in the mountains of Williamstown, grew out of the same forces that gave Amherst birth. In fact, it was only by the accident of circumstance that the two institutions exist, for only one was originally planned.

Colonel Ephraim Williams, noted Indian fighter and leader of colonials in the French Wars, left his fortune to establish a free school in what is now Williamstown. More than 30 years elapsed, however, while the General Court juggled educational policies, before the Free School was opened in 1790. For two generations, Williams grew slowly but in 1842, Mark Hopkins became president. This educational genius devoted his life to Williams and when he resigned his presidency in 1872, he had created the modern College. Since then several able presidents have continued to develop the institution and today it, like Amherst, owns an impressive plant and has an endowment of \$7,500,000 as of 1935.

Williams and Amherst are small colleges, as Massachusetts goes, but it is impossible to estimate their worth to the Commonwealth. It is enough to say that they have given a measure of service far from what might be anticipated if they were judged by wealth and size.

BOSTON COLLEGE AND HOLY CROSS

No survey of education in Massachusetts would be complete without mention of the two Catholic establishments, Holy Cross College in Worcester and Boston College out on its hill between Boston and Brookline. Established, supported and staffed by the Society of Jesus, these two now large colleges have earned a very important place in the Commonwealth's educational system. Holy Cross, the elder, is typical of both. In 1841, Bishop Benedict Joseph Fenwick, second Bishop of Boston, seeking to promote the college education of Catholic young men, founded his college in Worcester. For the actual creation of the college, Bishop Fenwick invited the Jesuits to assume charge and to model their activities after their institution in the

District of Columbia, Georgetown. Fire destroyed the college in 1852, but it was at once rebuilt and has steadily increased in importance ever since.

Boston College was founded similarly in 1864 and, particularly of recent years, has developed amazingly. Not only does its plant occupy a beautiful site overlooking Chestnut Hill Reservoir, but the College has moved some of its departments into the heart of Boston, the better to serve its students.

I. SUMMARY OF OUTSTANDING ACCOMPLISHMENTS

- 1635 Boston Latin School established—First Latin Grammar school in North America
- 1636 Harvard College founded—First College in English America
- 1642 First law requiring the education of children
- 1644 First free public school, in Dedham, supported by taxation
- 1647 First law requiring the establishment of public schools
- 1789 First provision for official supervision (inspection) of schools
- 1818 Boston establishes first primary schools
- 1821 Boston English High School established—first free public high school
- 1826 All towns of more than 500 families required to establish high schools
- 1826 All towns required to form school committees
- 1834 The Massachusetts State School Fund established
- 1836 The first child labor law in America enacted by the General Court
- 1837 The State Board of Education established; Horace Mann, first secretary
- 1839 First State Normal School founded, at Lexington
- 1840 Springfield employs the first full time superintendent of schools
- 1847 Boston established a complete system of graded schools
- 1847 General Court authorizes public evening schools
- 1852 First State legislation requiring school attendance (truancy)
- 1854 General Court authorizes the employment of school superintendents
- 1860 Private kindergartens founded in Boston
- 1872 Vocational training schools and classes authorized
- 1882-3 District school system finally abolished
- 1884 First State legislation requiring the supply to all pupils of free text-books and necessary materials
- 1895 Sloyd (manual training) required in cities over 20,000 population
- 1906 First legislation requiring medical inspection
- 1913 Establishment of the teachers' retirement plan

- 1913 Establishment of teachers' registration bureau
- 1914 Legislation giving teachers "tenure of office"
- 1915 Establishment of the University Extension (adult education)
- 1919 Establishment of General State School Fund (plan to equalize educational opportunities by support of state funds)
- 1919 Establishment of compulsory continuation schools
- 1919 Americanization classes granted State aid
- 1919 Legislation requiring (under certain conditions) special classes for mentally deficient and retarded children
- 1921 Establishment of compulsory physical education
- 1921 Legislation requiring employment of school nurses
- 1921 State Normal Schools authorized to grant degrees (four year courses)
- 1921 Establishment of vocational rehabilitation
- 1923 Establishment of day classes for the deaf
- 1925 State Committee for Revision of Curriculum—scientific detailing of study courses to meet modern conditions
- 1930 State Normal Schools made three year schools—to meet need for better trained teachers

II. STATISTICAL SUMMARY OF MODERN CONDITIONS

(State Department of Education Survey in 1934 compared with that of 1924)

Population

| | 1924 | 1934 |
|---|-----------|-----------|
| United States Census 1920 and 1930 | 3,852,356 | 4,249,614 |
| Children five to seven years of age | 128,498 | 136,400 |
| Children seven to fourteen years of age | 539,057 | 550,051 |
| Children fourteen to sixteen years of age | 136,535 | 152,730 |
| Illiterate minors sixteen to twenty one years old | 11,937 | 2,344 |

Day Public Schools

Elementary, Junior High, Senior High

| | | |
|-------------------------------------|---------|---------|
| Number of principals and teachers | 22,612 | 26,070 |
| Number of pupils enrolled | 698,011 | 779,041 |
| Average daily attendance | 606,009 | 689,163 |
| Average membership | 649,489 | 735,542 |

| <i>Evening Public Schools</i> | 1924 | 1934 |
|---|--------------|--------------|
| Cities and towns maintaining them | 73 | 33 |
| Teachers | 1,497 | 916 |
| Number of pupils enrolled (not including the Americanization classes) | 40,391 | 31,144 |
| Expenditures | \$544,442.57 | \$329,686.28 |

| <i>Vacation Public Schools</i> | 1924 | 1934 |
|-------------------------------------|-------------|-------------|
| Cities and towns maintaining them | 38 | 8 |
| Teachers | 606 | 360 |
| Number of pupils enrolled | 16,484 | 11,645 |
| Expenditures | \$99,108.87 | \$59,973.79 |

| <i>Valuation</i> | 1924 | 1934 |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| Valuation (as of 1923 and 1933) | \$5,978,152.428 | \$6,741,559.304 |
| Valuation per pupil in average membership | 9,204 | 9,165 |

| <i>Expenditures</i> | 1924 | 1934 |
|---|-----------------|-----------------|
| General control, including salaries and expenses of school committees and superintendents | \$2,009,368.29 | \$2,429,537.66 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | 3.09 | 3.30 |
| Salaries of supervisors, principals and teachers | \$38,127,834.67 | \$46,380,310.43 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | 58.29 | 63.05 |
| Textbooks | \$1,002,591.89 | \$817,004.57 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | 1.54 | 1.11 |
| Other expenses of instruction | \$1,657,485.69 | \$1,686,222.96 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | 2.55 | 2.29 |
| Operation of school plant, including janitor service and fuel | \$6,452,113.86 | \$7,094,616.41 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | 9.93 | 9.65 |
| Repairs, replacement and upkeep | \$2,816,359.79 | \$2,252,135.53 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | 4.34 | 3.06 |

| <i>Expenditures</i> | 1924 | 1934 |
|--|-----------------|-----------------|
| School libraries | \$25,546.48 | \$73,452.49 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | .03 | .10 |
| Promotion of health | \$687,491.42 | \$1,072,217.96 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | 1.06 | 1.46 |
| Transportation (within town limits and from town to special schools outside) | \$1,291,702.53 | \$1,809,990.56 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | 1.99 | 2.46 |
| Tuition | \$487,836.81 | \$773,621.15 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | .75 | 1.05 |
| Miscellaneous expenditures for support | \$957,667.21 | \$490,484.29 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | 1.47 | .67 |
| Total for support, including ordinary repairs | \$55,028,161.93 | \$64,879,593.86 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | 84.72 | 88.21 |
| Total for outlay—new school-houses, alterations and permanent repairs | \$11,769,875.84 | \$3,164,333.91 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | 18.12 | 4.30 |
| Total for support and outlay | \$66,789,037.77 | \$68,043,927.77 |
| Cost per pupil in average membership | 102.85 | 92.51 |

Valuation per pupil in ten leading cities

Newton, \$14,074; Boston, \$13,335; Holyoke, \$11,967; Cambridge, \$11,918; Springfield, \$11,208; Salem, \$10,314; Beverly, \$10,178; Fitchburg, \$10,122; Worcester, \$9,470; and Waltham, \$9,467.

Valuation per pupil in ten trailing cities

Chicopee, \$6,597; Pittsfield, \$6,545; Chelsea, \$6,537; Attleboro, \$6,093; Newburyport, \$5,971; Taunton, \$5,880; Woburn, \$5,379; Peabody, \$5,341; Revere, \$5,334; Westfield, \$5,219.

Valuation per pupil in ten leading towns of 5,000 population or over

Brookline, \$28,015; Wellesley, \$15,951; Barnstable, \$14,234; Swampscott, \$14,190; Winchester, \$13,368; Marblehead, \$12,070; Somerset, \$11,898; Milton, \$11,864; Hingham, \$11,400; Belmont, \$10,924.

Valuation in ten trailing towns per pupil of 5,000 population or over

Saugus, \$4,550; Ludlow, \$4,473; Maynard, \$4,308; Chelmsford, \$4,284; Winchendon, \$4,018; Auburn, \$4,011; Randolph, \$3,718; Bridgewater, \$3,708; Grafton, \$3,452 and Dracut, \$2,767.

Valuation per pupil in ten leading towns under 5,000 population and maintaining high schools

Manchester, \$24,780; Dover, \$23,284; Marshfield, \$21,278; Duxbury, \$19,428; Weston, \$18,091; Cohasset, \$18,076; Stockbridge, \$17,901; Scituate, \$17,690; Nantucket, \$16,671; Edgartown, \$16,428.

Valuation per pupil in ten trailing towns under 5,000 population and maintaining high schools

Holden, \$3,589; Huntington, \$3,584; Barre, \$3,534; Hardwick, \$3,512; Douglas, \$3,510; Warren, \$3,493; Oxford, \$3,485; Blackstone, \$3,422; Williamsburg, \$3,213; Belchertown, \$3,128.

Valuation per pupil in ten leading towns under 5000 population and not maintaining high schools

Gosnold, \$36,866; Hull, \$36,162; Wenham, \$21,726; Harvard, \$18,690; Nahant, \$18,224; Monterey, \$17,987; Monroe, \$17,267; Florida, \$16,648; West Tisbury, \$16,236; and Marion, \$16,198.

Valuation per pupil in ten trailing towns under 5,000 population and not maintaining high schools

Boylston, \$3,745; Cheshire, \$3,657; Hubbardston, \$3,595; Sturbridge, \$3,567; Bellingham, \$3,535; Berkley, \$3,078; Sunderland, \$3,067; Clarksburg, \$3,010; Leverett, \$2,882; and Millville, \$2,644.



